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С А М И Т И Т

THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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**VOL. XLII.**

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**London :**

**PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.**

MDCCCLXXXVI.



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## PREFACE.

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THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, for the year 1886, contains thirty-eight of the principal papers read at the Congress held at Brighton and Chichester during the month of August 1885, and at the past sessional meetings in London ; the report of that Congress, a summary of the Congress held at Durham and Darlington during this summer, and numerous notices of relics and works of antiquarian interest.

No very remarkable archæological discoveries have been made during the year ; but several recent finds have been described in our pages by those who have devoted especial attention to them. Among them may be mentioned the Roman character of the city walls in Chichester, described by Mr. G. M. Hills ; the Roman remains in the city of Rheims, by Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A. ; the ancient ship at Brigg, by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A. ; discoveries at Winchester Cathedral, by the Rev. Canon C. Collier ; early Lancashire crosses, by Mr. J. Romilly Allen ; the leaden tablet with Roman inscription, found at Bath, and the proposed rectification of the shattered sculptures at Chichester Cathedral, by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A. By means of these, and by

the help of other willing members and friends who have kept our table well supplied with antiquities of almost every kind, we have endeavoured to keep alive the flame which all who are earnest lovers of the teaching of by-gone periods cherish and venerate.

The Congress in the county of Durham, and our northern pilgrimage to the land of St. Cuthbert, have brought more prominently to our notice the extensive Roman remains at Binchester, the perfect early Saxon church at Escombe, and the noble pile of the Cathedral itself; and enabled us to examine details of the construction of churches, monasteries, and castles, which are rarely found, if at all, in the southern and more familiar counties. Hence we have no lack of attractive material for the volume of the ensuing year, which promises to advance the special study of ancient vestiges in a felicitous manner.

Our loss by death, of members and friends, has been considerable; and among those of whom we have been able to obtain obituary notices will be found Lord Waverley, our genial President at Yarmouth in 1879; Mr. Joseph Mayer, of Liverpool, a liberal patron of the *British Minerva*; Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, an archæologist of the most extensive and critical research; Sir Peter Stafford Carey, of Guernsey; Mrs. William Newton, a familiar friend at the Congresses; Mr. J. Bramley-Moore, a hospitable friend, of Liverpool; and Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs, of Yarmouth.

W. DE G. BIRCH.

31 December 1886.



# British Archaeological Association.

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THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.



The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA (but see next page). The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1885-86 are as follow:—1885, Nov. 18, Dec. 2. 1886, January 6, 20; Feb. 3, 17; March 3, 17; April 7, 21; May 5 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 19; June 2.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

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## RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.<sup>1</sup>

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,<sup>2</sup>—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

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<sup>1</sup> The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

<sup>2</sup> Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

#### ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen<sup>1</sup> Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen<sup>2</sup> other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May<sup>3</sup> in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

#### OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

#### OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

<sup>3</sup> In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

## OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

## OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days<sup>1</sup> on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

<sup>1</sup> In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

<sup>2</sup> At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

## LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER . . .	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH . . . }	
1857 NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt.
1868 GIRENCESTER . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EYESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE . . .	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH . . .	THE LORD WAVENEX, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . . .	THE VERY REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1885-6.

## President.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.

## President-Elect.

THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

## Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.; THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; G. TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM

W. C. BORLASE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., P.S.A.

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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

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MARCH 1886.

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### OPENING ADDRESS AT THE BRIGHTON CONGRESS,

DELIVERED AUGUST 17<sup>TH</sup>, 1885.

BY SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

IN appearing before you to-day it is necessary to offer a word of apology for my occupation of the chair. His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, who has been elected President of the Association for the current year, has been prevented by circumstances from delivering the usual inaugural address. As one of the Vice-Presidents I have been asked to take his place: as in duty bound, I respond cheerfully to the call, only requesting you to be lenient in your judgment, particularly as it is the second time I have had to perform this duty. Under these circumstances you will, I am sure,

“Be to my faults a little blind,  
And to my virtues very kind.”

The common subject which binds us together as an Association is the study of archæology. On a recent occasion, when a number of our members were gathered in a delightful tour of inspection of some of the antiquities of France, one of the visitors, hearing so often the phrase used, inquired very pertinently, “What is archæology?” The reply to this question brings under review the whole scope of our inquiries and discussions. In brief, archæology may be defined as that study which connects the past with the present by its visible monuments. It

is distinguished from written history, which is the record of human actions and motives. Ancient architecture has been defined as history in brick and stone ; but this is only one department of archæology, which embraces, in addition, works of art of every description on which the human mind and hands have been employed.

To understand the present, and to give a probable insight into the future, it is necessary to study the past, where the germs have been formed which may lie dormant in the present, to be developed as time rolls on. The human mind is the same under all circumstances, but presents itself in its results in an endless variety of aspects. The province of archæology is to discover, arrange, and classify these phenomena, and connect them with the written records of ages gone by. Beyond these records, where they fail us entirely, the Cimmerian darkness in which we are left is illuminated by the researches of the archæologist, who takes up the relics of the long buried past, and by the inductive process of arrangement, classification, and comparison, presents us with inferences as to the condition and progress of humanity in the pre-historic times, not less certain, and in many respects more trustworthy, than the written records of history.

We have in our own country a rich mine of antiquarian wealth to explore. We cannot pretend to vie with the splendours of ancient Egyptian architecture, nor the colossal grandeur of the remains of Babylon, Nineveh, and Persepolis, nor the perfection of Grecian art in the time of Pericles and Phidias ; but as regards the elucidation of history, and the transition from the old to the new, the series of visible objects within our reach possess an interest for us which far transcends any which can be derived from foreign sources. They are our own ; they have descended to us by inheritance ; we can trace them backward, step by step, into the night of ages, and connect them by an unbroken chain with what is passing before our eyes.

Notwithstanding the attention which has been paid to the subject, the untold number of volumes which have been written, and the ever increasing illustrations which have been scattered broadcast, there is still much virgin soil to turn over. In respect of those remains which

have been illustrated and recorded, the interest of the archæologist is enhanced by the information thus afforded and the assistance given to his inquiries. This information is increasing year by year, and imparts additional zest and throws additional light on the connection of topography not only with local records but with our national history in general.

Valuable service has been rendered by the various local archæological societies, of late years, in illustration of their respective localities. It is the province of the two Associations, which have a more general character, to combine and compare the information thus obtained, and to supplement it by actual inspection. Such is the object of the present meeting of the British Archæological Association; and I have no doubt that, having regard to the history of the county, and the various monuments by which this history is illustrated, this meeting will not fall short in success in comparison with any of those which have preceded it.

Of course it is not my province to anticipate, by any detail, the various objects of interest which will come under review. I may, however, perhaps be permitted to indicate very slightly a few of the salient points to which our attention will be directed.

Each county of England has its own peculiarities and its own history, and Sussex yields to none for the stirring events which have taken place within its borders, and the existing monuments by which their memory is perpetuated. The prehistoric remains are not so numerous as those in Wiltshire, nor as those in Pembrokeshire, which we visited last year. There are, however, a number of earthworks well worth notice, such as Cisbury, the Devil's Dyke, Caburn, Hollingbury, and others. Tumuli or barrows are met with scattered all over the Downs. Of the original inhabitants we know nothing. Whoever they were, they were dispossessed by the invading Cymry, who have left traces behind them in the names of the rivers, Rother, Asten, Ouse, Adur, Arun, and others. The primitive features of the landscape were furnished by the swelling, bare chalk downs of the western portion, and the dense, extensive forest of Anderida occupying the eastern part.



At the time of the invasion of the Romans the district was occupied by the Regni, a tribe akin to the Belgæ, whose chief seat was at Regnum, now Chichester. The open part of the country was occupied and cultivated by the Roman colonists, who have left behind them many memorials. Wherever the Romans settled they constructed noble roads of communication, and several exist in Sussex. One of these, starting from Venta Belgarum (now Winchester), led to Chichester, from whence it turned northward, through Bignor and Pillborough, to Dorking. A considerable part of this is still extant under the name of Stone Street. Another road, from Regnum, continued along the south coast to the fortified city of Anderida, now Pevensey. From Anderida another road turned northward, through the forest, in the direction of London. The names "Street" ("Stone Street", "Broad Street"), still applied, indicate the site and direction of portions of these roads. So it thus remained for about four hundred years, during the Roman occupation.

The numerous Roman remains scattered over the county, in at least sixteen different localities, present strong evidence of the flourishing and prosperous condition of the county under the Roman dominion. The splendid villa at Bignor, unearthed in 1811, could only have come into existence under circumstances of peace and refinement. But a terrible reverse was at hand.

The south coast of Britain was infested long before the close of the Roman occupation by the fleets of the Saxon pirates, against whose ravages special means of protection were adopted. Fortresses were built at Portus Magnus (now Porchester), at Regnum (now Chichester), and at Anderida (now Pevensey).

The Romans withdrew from Britain in A.D. 410, and the Britons were then left to their own defences. I need not repeat the story of the invasion of Kent by the Saxons in 449, under Hengist and Horsa. The turn of Sussex came in 477, when Ælle, the son of Hengist, with his three sons, Cynen, Wlencing, and Cissa, made a descent in the neighbourhood of Selsey Bill, and ultimately took possession and settled the district, calling it by their own name, "Sussex", or South Saxony.

Mr. Green, in his valuable work on the *Making of*



*England*, presents us with some graphic notes on this stirring portion of our history, from the *Saxon Chronicle* and elsewhere. Ælle seems to have been one of the most ferocious and ruthless of the Saxon warriors. He met with a determined resistance from the Romanised Britons, and his progress was comparatively slow. It took him fourteen years to advance from Selsey Bill to Beachy Head, a little beyond which lay the fortified city of Anderida, inhabited by a prosperous population of miners, attracted by the copious supply of iron ore, and the extensive woods which supplied fuel for smelting. The siege was long and difficult, but it ultimately proved successful. In the terrible words of the *Saxon Chronicle* and Henry of Huntingdon :—"This year (490) Ella and Cissa besieged the city of Andred (*Andredesceaster*), and slew all that were therein, nor was one Briton left there afterwards."<sup>1</sup>

There are existing several very interesting reminiscences of this conquest. *Cissa* has left his name in *Cissan-ceaster*, now *Chichester*. *Cymen* will be recognised in the parish of *Keymer*, and the manor of *Keynor*.

The noble fortress of Anderida was never rebuilt, and the site continues desolate to this day; but the walls and bastions remain almost perfect, and present a splendid testimony to the power and greatness of the Roman dominion. It is to be hoped that amongst the excursions of the coming week a visit to Pevensey, the Danish name of the ancient Anderida, will be included.

The conquest and subjection of Sussex was so thorough that little or nothing of the ancient British element remains. The nomenclature is intensely Anglo-Saxon, the suffixes almost entirely so. We find the Saxon *tons* and *hams* very numerous, and in pretty nearly equal proportions. The *ings*, as patronymics, are very numerous, frequently in combination with *ham*, *hurst*, and *ton*, as in *Arlington*, *Beddingham*, *Warminghurst*, etc.

The sylvan character of the country in ancient times is indicated by the frequent recurrence of the suffix *hurst*

<sup>1</sup> "Ita urbem destruxerunt quod nunquam postea re-edificata est: locus tantum quasi nobilissimæ urbis transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus."—Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.*, writing in the twelfth century.

(a wood), as in *Ew-hurst*, *Farn-hurst*, *Crow-hurst*, *Mid-hurst*, etc. *Field* indicates the open untimbered localities, as in *Maresfield*, *Mayfield*, *Rotherfield*, etc. The valleys retain the suffixes *combe*, and *dene* or *den*, as *Telscombe*, *Balcombe*, *East* and *West Dene*, *Slayden*, *Mereden* or *Marden*. Other Saxon suffixes are found in *worth*, a wayside farm, in *Petworth*; or, a landing-place, in *Bogn-or*, *Keyn-or*, *Itchn-or*; *ford*, in *Treyford*, *Iford*, etc. Other Saxon terminations are found in *bourne*, *mere*, *fold*, *ley*, *hithe*, *sted*, *stow*, *wick*, etc.

Whether any remnants of Cymric nomenclature are to be found in the prefixes of the place-names in Sussex is a problem yet to be solved, but which is well worth inquiry. Some of the ancient Saxon chiefs are commemorated in these prefixes, as *Horsa* in *Horsted*; *Billa* or *Billing* in *Billinghurst*; *Brighthelm* in *Bright-helmstone*, now *Brighton*; *Beda* in *Beddingham*; *Ella* in *Elsted*. *Cudlaw* indicates the *Hlaw*, or tumulus of the chief, *Cud-bert* or *Cuthbert*.

The ninth and tenth centuries are memorable in the history of Sussex from the ravages of the Danes or Northmen, who, especially during the tenth century, repeatedly harried the coast, but never effected any extensive settlements. Some permanent influence, however, they left behind. The six *Rapes* into which the county is divided, corresponding to the *Lathes* of Kent and the *Ridings* of Yorkshire, are of Danish origin; and, under the form *Hreppr*, the term is still employed in Iceland for a similar division. *Hastings* commemorates a famous Danish pirate of that name, who is supposed to have settled there and founded the town. The ancient town of *Rye* presents evidences of its Danish origin in its name *Ryg*, a back or ridge. Following the coast, we find *Pevensey*, a Danish name, which superseded the old deserted *Anderida*. *Langney*, *Pidding-hoe*, *Hove* or *Hoe*, *Selsey*, *Pilsey*, *Thorney*, all Danish. These names are confined to the edge of the coast, and do not appear to have penetrated inland, the county possessing probably the purest Saxon nomenclature in the kingdom.

The next memorable incidents in the history of Sussex are the circumstances attending the invasion and conquest of England by the Normans, which took place

within this county. Bosham was the residence of Harold, from which he took his voyage to Normandy, which was attended with such direful results. William the Norman landed at Pevensey. The course of his march to Hastings, and thence along the ridge to the fatal field of Senlac, can be traced with the utmost minuteness. Standing on the low hill which overlooks the downs, we can realise in the mind's-eye the events of the memorable 15th of October 1066, the most momentous battle ever fought on English ground. We can see the trench and stockade thrown up by English Harold, behind which, in the centre, clustered the body-guard of the king, men in full armour, wielding huge battle-axes, grouped round the Golden Dragon of Wessex and the standard of the king. Duke William's Norman knight-hood was arrayed on the opposite side. In front of these we can see the minstrel, Taillefer, caracoling on his steed, throwing up his battle-axe and catching it again, whilst he chanted the song of Roland. The sequel of the fray, the charge on the Saxon stockade, and its repulse; the disorder and panic amongst the Normans; the coolness of head, the dogged perseverance, the inexhaustible resource of the Norman leader; the roar and the tumult of the battle; the simulated flight, and sudden rally of the Normans; the contest prolonged till sundown, when a chance arrow piercing Harold's eye, wrecked the hopes of the English and brought the battle to a close—all this is brought vividly to the mind when standing on the rising ground commanding a view of the site. From this point English history takes a fresh departure—

“Th' old order changeth, giving place to new.”

Out of apparent disaster springs new life. The Saxon element absorbed the Norman, but drew from it an energy, a vigour, a power, which has been the dominant influence in its progress and success.

The feudal system was now established in all its rigour, and England became for a time a vast camp. The county of Sussex was divided into sixteen fiefs, held in demesne by tenants *in capite*; containing, in different proportions, three hundred and eighty-seven

manors. These were distributed amongst the Norman adventurers, the Saxon thanes being ousted or reduced to servitude.

Four castles of the first class—Arundel, Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings—were erected by the Norman barons to overawe the country, and to protect their acquisitions. Some of these we shall have the opportunity of inspecting. Several fortified manor houses were erected during the middle ages by the sub-feudatories; several by royal licence, as that of Camber, in the reign of Henry VIII, Bodiam, in 1386, and Hurstmonceaux, during the reign of Henry VI.

Whilst on the subject of castles, I may mention that there are a number of interesting earthwork encampments at Hollingbury, Woolstonbury, Burlough, and the Devil's Dyke, which have probably been occupied successively by the Britons, the Romans, and the Saxons.

The history of the county is not distinguished by many stirring national events, but two battles which had a most important influence on our national history were fought in Sussex within a few miles of each other. I have already made reference to the battle of Hastings or Senlac, which brought England under the Norman yoke. The other, which took place about two centuries later, was the battle of Lewes, between Henry III and the barons. The story is very graphically told by the chronicler Fabyan. At the risk of being tedious, I will venture to place his description before you, principally in his own words.

From a Parliament held at Oxford, the king and his barons parted all in discord. A great riot took place in London, where the barons were popular. The chronicler proceeds:—

“The kyng herynge of this ryot gaderyd unto hym great power; and for he harde y<sup>t</sup> Sir Peter de Mountforde was at Northampton gaderynge of people to strengthen the barons' partie ..... Then in the ende of Apryll the barons with a multitude of the cytie whiche they put in vawarde, departed frome London takynge their journey towarde the kyng; and when they were wele onwarde upon theyr waye, worde was brought unto them y<sup>t</sup> the kyng w<sup>th</sup> an huge power was at Lewys.”

The barons sent a letter to the king, signed by Simon



de Montfort and seventeen others of the chief feudatories, of which the substance is as follows:—

“Lyketh your hyghlines to understande y<sup>e</sup> many beyng aboute you, have before tymes shewed unto your lordshyp of us, many evyll and nutrewe reportes, and have founde suggestyons, nat allonely of us, but also of your selfe to bring this your realme into subvercyon. Knowe your excellency, that we entend no thyng but helth and suertie to your persone to the uttermost of our powers. And nat oonly to our enemyes, but also to yours and of all this your realme we entende utter grevance and correccion, for ye shall fynde us your trewe and faythfull subgectes to the uttermost of our powers.”

To this the king replied, amongst other expressions :

“Where as by warre and other generall partnrbaunce in this our realme by you begun and contynned, with also brennynges and other hurtes and enormyteis that evydently apperyth y<sup>e</sup> your fydelitye to us due, ye have not kept, nor the suertye of our persone ye have lytell regarded ; for somoche as our lordes and other our trusty frendys, whiche dayly byde with us, ye vexyn and greve and theym pursewe to the uttermost of your powers ..... Wherefore of your favoure or assuraunce we sette lytel store ; but you, as our enemyes, we utterly defye.

“Wytnesse oure selfe at oure towne of Lewys, the xii daye of this moneth of Maii.”

The chronicler proceeds :

“When the barons had receyved these letters from the kyng and his lordes, they perceyved well that there was none other meane but to defende theyr cause by dynt of swerde. Wherefore they, puttyng their trust in God, spedde theym forth towarde the kyng, and upon a Wednysday, beyng then the xxiiii day of Maii, erly in the mornynge, both hoostes met ; where after the Londoners had gyvn the first assaute they were betyn backe, so that they began to drawe from the sharpe-shot and strekes to the discomfort of the barons’ hoost. But the barons encoraged and comforted their men in such wyse, y<sup>e</sup> nat allonely the fresh and lusty knyghtes faught egerly, but also such as before were seomfited recoveryd their vertue and strength and faught without fere, in somoche that then the kyng’s vawarde lost their places. Then was the felde coveryd with deed bodyes, and gaspyng and gronyng was herde on every syde, for eyther was desirous for to bring the other out of lyf ; and y<sup>e</sup> fader sparyd nat the sone, nor the sone the fader ; alliaunce at y<sup>e</sup> tyme was tourned unto diffyaunce, and Cristen blode y<sup>e</sup> day was shad without pytie, thus, duryng the cruell fyght by the more parte of the day. Lastly, the victory fyl to y<sup>e</sup> barons, so there was taken y<sup>e</sup> kyng and y<sup>e</sup> kyng of Romainys, Sir Edward y<sup>e</sup> kyng’s sone, w<sup>th</sup> many other noblemen to y<sup>e</sup> nombre of xxv barons and banerettes, and people slayne a great multitude, over xxm, as sayth myn auctours.”

The result of this battle had a most momentous influence on the history of England. It led to the calling

of a Parliament, in which representatives from the boroughs appeared for the first time, and exercised the first tentative efforts towards an influence which was ultimately to become dominant in the nation.

From the castles and battles let us turn to the churches, which are usually the most interesting objects of antiquity. Much cannot be said in praise of the church architecture of Sussex. The buildings are for the most part small and plain in their architecture. The reason for this is not far to seek. With one exception, to which I shall shortly refer, the country has been destitute of manufactures. It was the early manufacturing industry of the eastern counties which supplied the funds for the erection of the magnificent structures which the middle ages have bequeathed to us. The population of Sussex has always been mainly agricultural and pastoral. The church was therefore destitute of that material support which the richer counties were able to afford.

The first place must of course be given to Chichester Cathedral. This, though not on the largest scale of its sister structures, and rather unfavourably situated, is very interesting, and contains a variety of styles from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

Battle Abbey, from its connection with our national history, is well worthy of a visit; its remains will come under our review.

The church at Arundel, with its associated buildings, will afford ample scope for a pleasant day's excursion.

There existed abbeys, priories, or collegiate churches at Lewes, Hastings, Bayham, Robertsbridge, and Durfold, fragments of which still remain.

The churches of Steyning and Sompting are well known from their specimens of early architecture.

New and Old Shoreham, Lewes, Bosham, Bishopstone, Alfriston, Broadwater, offer interesting examples, some of which we shall doubtless visit. The modern restorer does not appear to have been quite so energetic here as in some of the other counties, which to us, as archaeologists, is cause for congratulation.

Besides the churches and castles there are many interesting reminiscences of antiquity scattered about the country. The southern coast, from its pleasant



aspect, its genial climate, and its facility of access, has developed into a series of delightful watering-places, amongst which the princely Brighton stands supreme. This, of course, imparts a modern and lively aspect to a considerable portion of the county, but within the interior there are many interesting associations left of the olden times. Three of the old Cinque ports—Hastings, Rye, and Winchelsea—are in Sussex, and though shorn of their former importance, they constitute an interesting link between ancient and modern commerce.

The ancient town of Lewes, with its noble castle and its quaint street architecture, will come under our notice.

Steyning has its Roman and mediæval associations and its fine old Norman church.

Old and New Shoreham present features of antiquity worthy of inspection in addition to the churches.

In fact, a ramble amongst the quaint old villages of Sussex would give a vivid idea of England in the olden time.

The tide of commerce and manufactures has for so many ages set in a northerly direction, that we are apt to forget the distinguished part played by the southern counties in our early history. International commerce in its first feeble development was here cherished and protected, and manufactures in one important direction here had their seat. I allude more particularly to the iron smelting and casting for which Sussex was long renowned.

Ironstone of excellent quality is found in various parts of the county, and was very early made use of. Even before the advent of the Romans, the forest of Dean in the west, and the forest of Anderida, in Sussex, in the east, were the two principal sources from which the metal was derived, and all through the mediæval ages the manufacture was continued. After the discovery of the art of smelting and casting iron in the sixteenth century, the manufacture in Sussex received a great impulse from the abundance of wood for fuel, and from that time down to the middle of the last century it continued to flourish.

One of the largest furnaces was at Lamberhurst, on the borders of Kent, where the noble balustrade sur-

rounding St. Paul's Cathedral was cast, at a cost of about £11,000.

It is stated by the historian Holinshed that the first cast iron ordnance was manufactured at Buxted in this county. Two specialties in the iron trade belonged to Sussex, the manufacture of chimney backs and cast-iron plates for grave-stones. At the time when wood constituted the fuel, the backs of fireplaces were frequently ornamented with neat designs. Specimens, both of the chimney backs and of the monuments, are occasionally met with. These articles were exported from Rye.

The iron manufacture, of course, met with considerable discouragement on the discovery of smelting with pit coal, and the rapid progress of iron works in Staffordshire and the north, but it lingered on until the great forest was cut down and the fuel exhausted. The last furnace was at Brede, near Beckley, a few miles from Rye, which was discontinued in 1825.

The manufacture of salt was carried on along the southern coast from a very early period on the flat shores and inlets. The sea water was received into shallow square ponds, a few inches deep, which were left to evaporate, sometimes for years, the brine being then boiled and crystallised.

In the Domesday account of Lancing, near Shoreham, we read of twenty-three salt-pans held by different persons, which, from the value attached to them, must have been of importance. In the arm of the sea leading up to Chichester there is, or was until recently, a similar manufacture at Appledram carried on.

I have endeavoured thus briefly to call your attention to a few of the objects of archæological interest which will come under your notice during the next few days. Although some of the most striking events in our history took place within its borders, it cannot be said that Sussex is pre-eminent as a field for antiquarian research. Still there is much which will well repay inquiry. It is almost a purely English county, with little or nothing of foreign admixture, and has been the birth-place of many eminent Englishmen. Harold, the last of our Saxon kings, was probably born at Bosham. John Selden, the great lawyer; Fletcher, the dramatist;

Collins and Shelley, two of our most renowned poets; Mantell, the geologist—first drew breath in Sussex; and it is connected, by their residence, with Gibbon the historian, Archbishop Leighton, Gilbert White the naturalist, and Huskisson the statesman. Its breezy downs are a health-inspiring resort. Its pleasant shores have offered such attractions as to create the largest and most renowned watering-places in the kingdom, and to render Brighton almost a suburb of London.

Let us hope that the present visit of the British Archæological Association will enable the members to increase the stores of their antiquarian knowledge and to leave some pleasant memories behind.

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## ON BRITISH COINS.

BY THE LATE DR. SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., KEEPER OF THE  
EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
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THE question of the coins of the ancient Britons has been so amply discussed in the works of Mr. J. Evans, P.S.A., and the papers of Mr. Willett, that an apology is almost necessary for reviving the subject, especially as it has been treated in an exhaustive way by the archæologists of this country. That the Britons were supposed by Cæsar and the Roman writers not to have possessed or made use of money is quite clear, for Cæsar affirms that the ancient Britons used either brass or iron rings of a certain weight, instead of money. It is clear that he did not mean by brass, brass coins, and it must have been either brass rings or bracelets, or else ingots of brass. What he means by iron rings is still more obscure, unless the passage is hopelessly corrupt, and the word *aureis*, "gold", ought to be substituted for the *ferreis*, "iron", of the text; and his statement would then correspond with the "gold" penannular rings found in England and Ireland, which are adjusted to a certain weight, and may have passed for "coin" or *nummus* amongst the Celtic races. Cicero states, in his letters to Atticus, that during the expedition of Cæsar to Britain it was reported that there was not a farthing of money in the island; and Solinus says of the Dumnonii that they refused coin, but that they gave and took things, and prepared such objects as were necessary, for barter rather than for money value. When, however, the war with Britain was finished, although there was no coin, hostages were taken, and money, says Cicero (*pecuniâ imperatâ*), obtained or demanded.

This, according to the Roman account, was the condition of Britain in the days of Cæsar, but numismatic researches have proved that there was a coinage in use in Britain before the time of Cæsar. The coins were principally gold, and are supposed to be imitations of the

staters of Philip of Macedon, which weighed 133 grains. These are of yellow gold, and have on one side a head, treated in a Gaulish or British style, and on the other a two-horse chariot, or even a single horse with a wheel, the chariots on the coins having been copied by unskilful die-sinkers. The weight of the oldest of these coins is about 120 grains, and the coins themselves are flat or disked, of yellow gold. This weight approaches that of the *aureus* of Augustus, which weighed 120 grains, the corresponding gold Roman coin having diminished under Nero to 115 grains. The British type is supposed to have been selected on account of the prevalence of the staters of Philip in the south of Gaul, through intercourse with which country the Britons became acquainted with the art of coinage. This type also probably commended itself from the prevalence of cavalry and chariots in the British armies.

*The National Type.*—The horse, which had so great a part in the affairs of Britain, and of which traditional Celtic representations have remained, was naturally selected as the national type.

The earlier or uninscribed British types are of purer gold, less alloyed with copper, than those struck under the influence of Roman civilisation. That the prevalent coins should be of gold is to be expected, considering the vast quantities of the precious metal used in torcs, bracelets, penannular rings, and armour. Such coins were, no doubt, in use amongst the Atrebates, Regni, and inhabitants of the south coast. It is, however, difficult to know how the currency was regulated or commerce carried on, except by the principle of barter mentioned by the Roman authors. There is, no doubt, a difficulty in knowing how an ancient Briton obtained the necessary change, as, although the older coins may have imitated the coins of Philip, there is no appearance of such large silver coins as the great tetradrachms or even drachmæ, the small silver coins found approaching nearer to the *oboli* of the Greek series, and the copper to the weight of the brass of the regal series. Subsequently the weight of the gold coins was reduced to about eighty grains; and of the same period gold coins are found of an average of twenty grains, supposed to be fourths of the larger gold pieces,



an arrangement found in the Greek currency, but not in the Roman, where the contemporary gold consisted only of the *aureus* of 121 grains, and its half, the *quinarius*. Of the silver British currency, the weight varies from 103, 96, and 89 grains, down to very small pieces of 12 to 18 grains; and even so low as 3 or 4 grains, which hardly admits of their being decimal sub-multiples of others, but rather that they were fifths and fourths. Besides these, billon pieces of 95 grains, and tin of 20 grains have been found, which may again be referable to subdivisions of fourths or fifths.

*The Debasement of the Currency a Result of High Civilisation.*—The debasement of the currency, one of the results of a high civilisation in which adulteration plays an important part, is shown particularly by the metal of the gold coins of Britain, the oldest of which are of pure gold, from 120 to 110 grains in weight; the pale gold or electrum varying from about 96 to 89 grains; while the red gold, or gold mixed with copper, chiefly of the Roman period, varies from 84 to 76 grains for the heavier pieces to about 20 grains for the sub-multiples. These are of an alloy, with 30 to 40 per cent. of copper. Most of the coins have a tendency to convexity, and when inscribed, the letters are distributed in the field, and often so mixed with the legs of the horses as to be confused. The coins have Latin inscriptions of the period, the earlier ones using the termination in *os* of the age of the Republic, and prior to the *us* of Augustus. To this class belong the coins of Commios. Others read: *DVMNOCO VEROS* and *VOLISIOS*, chiefs of the Parisii or the Brigantes, and *ADDE-DOMAROS* of the Iceni, which are still in relation with the British type imitated from those of Philip, and do not show the Roman influence visible in those of the princes who were protected by, or feudatories of, the Romans.

There is one peculiarity which distinguishes some of the inscribed coins; they have their inscription stuck in a rectangular depression, like the name of the potters of the Samian red Roman pottery, and this on the convex side, which, from the inscription itself cannot be considered to be the obverse, although the prominent importance given to the expression, "the son of Commius", shows that the hereditary principle conferred upon the chieftain

a title, in Roman opinion, to the succession, or else had its influence in the minds of his British subjects. But this form of epigraphs in a label or frame is not only unique in the Gaulish and British series, but is restricted to the family of Commius and Tasciovanus. The name of the latter appears on coins in the form of TASCIOVANI, TASCIOVANI, or TASCIOVANTIS. Some were struck at his capital of Verulamium, or St. Albans; but they are found distributed by commerce all over England, and have been discovered in Britannia Prima, or the south coast. Some have, after TASCIOV, the word RICON,—a word of doubtful meaning, upon which, up to the present moment, no certain light has been thrown, unless TASCIOVRICON is the name of another British ruler. Cunobelinus, or Cymbeline, his son, ruled at Camulodunum in Essex, where he had established his capital in the time of Caligula.

Although the uninscribed coins are, as a rule, the oldest, and therefore of great importance, it is not till the period of the Roman dominion, and the use of the Latin language upon them, that the coins have any great interest as connecting them with the records of the Roman conquest of Britain. The coins have been divided into geographical divisions, partly from the places where discovered and their inscriptions:—1, The coins of Kent and Eastern Surrey; 2, the coins of Sussex, Hampshire, and West Surrey; 3, the coins of Norfolk and Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdon: those of the Eastern district; 4, the Central districts, comprising Essex; 5, the coins of Yorkshire. My remarks, however, chiefly apply to the South-Eastern district, and the coins found in thirty-one or more places in Sussex. Those of this county and of Dorset, which appear to have been made by the Atrebates and Belgæ, vary from 118 grains to 83 grains for the larger gold uninscribed pieces, and from 27 to 10 grains for the smaller pieces, the supposed fourths; while the silver vary from 79 grains for the larger pieces, to from  $19\frac{1}{4}$  to 10 grains, also pointing to a division by fourths; and the copper and bronze from 52 to 32 grains for the heavier pieces to 14 grains for the smaller; while the tin coins, chiefly found in the Isle of Thanet, vary from 25 to 19 grs.

*Types treated in an Artistic Manner.*—All these varieties show that the British systems had nothing to do with

either the Greek or Roman monetary systems, or that they were derived from them, but that they were adapted to some Gaulish system equally removed from Greek and Roman, varying according to the local tribes, the types being equally adapted or modified from the Gaulish, and that it was not till the adoption of Roman civilisation that the types present subjects derived from the mythology of Greece and Rome, and that they are treated in an artistic manner. The first British chieftain on the list is COMMIVS, although it is uncertain if he is the Commius mentioned by Cæsar, originally sent over to conciliate the Britons to the Roman dominion. The finding of the name of COMMIOS on a gold coin agrees with the period, and the coins of three princes descended from him, one having the name of VERICA, if that is the full word (sometimes written VIRI), with another commencing TINC (supposed to read TINCOMMIVS), and a third called EPPILLVS, entitled REX CALLE[VÆ], or King of Silchester, show the great importance of this royal family, of some of the members of which coins have been found in this county. Those of EPPILLVS, principally found in Kent, are supposed to prove that the three princes reigned simultaneously. There can be no doubt, from the types used of the Capricorn and the two Cornucopie, which are found on the coins of Augustus, that this family flourished contemporarily with that prince, and their rule must be assigned to a date later than B.C. 30. It is possibly subsequent to this dynasty that another appears in the central district, the first of which was TASCIOVANVS, whose capital or seat was Verulamium or St. Albans. Besides the name of VERVLAMIVM, the word SEGO, supposed to refer to the Segontium, but possibly that of a prince such as Segonax, or in the genitive Segonactis, is found. The coins of Tasciovanus exhibit different styles; some approaching nearer to the uninscribed series, while others show the influence of the Roman mythology. The coins of his son, and apparently his successor, Cunobelinus, were struck at Camulodunum, or Colchester, and most of them have the name of the city abridged on the reverse. Some have CVNO on the obverse and reverse, and a few, a supposed name of SOLIDV[NVM]. These gold coins weigh about 85 grains, with fourths, ranging from 20 to 29 grains.

They have also, it appears, been found in Sussex, and it would seem that under the Roman dominion these coins were universally current in Britain. Tasciovanus had another son named Epaticcus. The coins of DUBNOVELLAUNUS, a British prince who fled to Augustus for protection, have also been found, as also those of a possible DIBORIGVS at Colchester. It does not appear that any coins of the Icenî who inhabited Norfolk and Suffolk have been found in Sussex, although their monarch Addedomaros may have reigned before Cunobelinus, about B.C. 50. The small silver coins reading ECEN, and those having the initial portions of the names of princes, do not, however, present that of the celebrated Boadicea, as the gold coins which read BODVOC are assigned to what is known as the Western district, where also are supposed to be the sites of the coins inscribed CATTI, COMVX, VOCORIO or ADVOCORIO, ANTEDRIGVS, INMARA or IMMARA, and EISV, amongst which may lie hid the Mandubratius, killed by Cunobelinus. Neither have coins of the Brigantes or Parisii, who inhabited Yorkshire, occurred. They are probably later than those of Tasciovanus, and comprise two, if not three monarchs,—possibly DVMNOVEROS, or DVMNO-CO-VEROS, VOLISIOS, and TIGIPSENO.

Besides coins of these princes, those, apparently, of obscure princes, such as RVFVS or RVFINVS, and CRAB[ILIVS], have been found. But after the expedition of Claudius to Britain, and its consequent total subjection to the Romans, the coins of reguli or British princes disappeared, and the Roman system of money introduced the tool of "slavery", an assimilated or international coinage marking the utter extinction of all national feeling. It is not a little remarkable that on the coins here recorded no memorial of any of the great heroic kings of the ancient Britons occur. None can be assigned to Cassivellaunus, Boadicea, the valiant queen, or Caractacus, and those that remain are rather of the pliant tools who helped to impose the yoke of a foreign empire on their British subjects. Names, however, like those of the British kings Damno-bellaunus, and Tincommius, who are mentioned in the will of Augustus as coming to offer their submission to that subtle emperor, have received the legacy of honourable mention.

I have mentioned that this county has afforded numerous coins to the series, the British coins being scattered over thirty-one places, and considerable finds having been made on the coast at Bognor and Selsea, rare examples having been discovered in this very town. The uninscribed are supposed to have been minted here under the Belgæ, Atrebates, and Cattyeuchlani, in which last name the Celtic word *clan* may lie hidden, as the clan of the Cattyeuchs present local peculiarities, and some numismatists have traced on them the Sussex horse, which must have retained its characteristics, subject to no evolution, for upwards of two thousand years; probably the wheel is that of the *essedæ* or chariot, which has also remained the same. Might I add that after the reflex of three waves of conquest, the Roman, the Saxo-Danish and the Norman, the Celtic element with characteristics still remains in ourselves?

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\* \* For the revision of this paper, the Association is indebted to the kindness of Vice-President Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., Pres. Soc. Antiq., Pres. Numismatic Society, etc., etc.

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## NOTES ON CORNISH CROSSES.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

*(Read 20 May 1885.)*

THESE ancient memorials of primitive Christianity constantly meet the traveller as he wanders from the banks of wooded Tamar towards the giant cliffs of Land's End, which thrust themselves forth into the surge of the wild Atlantic.

In all probability the cross, as a Christian symbol, was introduced into Britain with Christianity itself, about A.D. 60. In 432 St. Patrick landed in Ireland, and so rapid was the conversion of that country that in less than sixty years Ireland had become known as "The Isle of Saints". It has been pointed out<sup>1</sup> that in the county of Louth there are two magnificent crosses, one of which, 18 feet high, was erected to the memory of the founder of the church of Monasterboyce, A.D. 521; the other is inscribed "Pray for Murdock", in the ancient Irish character; and as it is stated that Cornwall received its first missionaries from Ireland, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that some of these crosses may have been erected in this district about the same period. Some crosses are certainly older than others; but the greater number may be considered to date before the conquest of Cornwall by Athelstan, A.D. 936.

The erection of crosses seems to have been much more general in the west of Cornwall,—a district reclaimed from heathenism by Irish missionaries. Those who lived on the north coast appear to have erected few of these symbols of their faith, and it is interesting to note that they were converted by Welsh missionaries. After A.D. 1066 the land was appropriated by the Norman chiefs, and "it is probable", says Mr. Blight, "that the public monuments remained undisturbed until later times, when frequent changes occurred in the proprietary of the soil."

<sup>1</sup> See *Ancient Crosses of Cornwall*, by J. T. Blight, F.S.A.

The Knights of St. John<sup>1</sup> (instituted A.D. 1099), as well as the Templars,<sup>2</sup> held lands in Cornwall; and the peculiar form of their cross, which occurs in a few instances in the county, may have been introduced by them.

As to the use of these crosses, Wynken de Worde, in *Dives et Pauper* (A.D. 1496), says: "For this reason ben croyssees by y<sup>e</sup> way, that when folk passyng see y<sup>e</sup> croyssees they shoulde thynke on Hym that deyed on y<sup>e</sup> croysse, and worshippe Hym above althyng." They were also, no doubt, erected to "guide and guard the way to the church", and it was occasionally the beautiful practice to leave alms on the crosses for the poor wayfarers. Many an Englishman, in the age of pilgrimages, thanked those who put up the wayside-crosses in this western land, as he wandered on towards the shrine of St. Michael. That was a time when Cornwall was a stretch of rocky moorland with only a few narrow paths across it. Then it was that these silent wayside-crosses guided the pilgrim in his westward course over the lonely heath and rocky hill until at last he came to Chapel Rock, where he halted awhile before climbing St. Michael's Mount.

The Cornish crosses were once far more numerous than they are at present; yet it is gratifying to note that during the last few years many have been rescued from their servile duty as gateposts and bridges, and are now re-erected on the wayside, or market-place, or in the churchyard or rectory-garden. Since the publication of Mr. Blight's valuable book, the mutilated cross<sup>3</sup> in the churchyard-wall at Launceston has been kindly restored by the family of the late Mr. N. H. E. Lawrence, J.P., and placed on his grave (1878). One side represents Our Lord on the cross, His Mother on one side, and St. John on the other. On the opposite face are sculptured the Virgin and Child, with a figure on either side. There is a female figure on the eastern face. The west side has a figure holding a staff or sword. The height of the cross,

<sup>1</sup> The Knights of St. John bore a cross of the same form as the Templars, but black upon white.

<sup>2</sup> Pope Eugenius granted to the Templars (A.D. 1146) the symbol of martyrdom, "the blood-red cross". Hugh de Payens, the first Superior, visited England A.D. 1128, when many grants of land were made to that fraternity in Cornwall.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Blight gives a representation of one side of this cross in his book on *Ancient Crosses of Cornwall*, p. 64.

without the modern shaft, is 1 foot 5 inches, and the breadth is 1 foot 2 inches.

Another cross of considerable interest was saved from degradation and further mutilation by Mr. J. J. E. Venning, the steward of Lord Wharnccliffe's property in Tintagel. This gentleman removed it from Trevillet, where it was being used as a gatepost, and set it up in front of the Wharnccliffe Arms, in the little village of Trevena. This cross measures 3 ft. 11 ins. in length, 1 ft. 5 ins. in breadth, and 9 ins. in thickness. It is inscribed on both sides in Romano-Gothic characters, each inscription being surmounted by a cross of the Greek type, though varying a little in details. On one side is the inscription, *ÆLNAT + FECIT HANC CRUCEM PRO ANIMA SUA*; the words *HANC*, *PRO*, and *SUA*, being contracted. After the word *ÆLNAT* is a small cross. On the same side, between the arms of the cross, are four small bosses, and there is a boss on the centre of the cross. On the other side are the words *MATHEUS, MARCUS, LUCAS, JOH̄*. The letters are irregularly placed, and in part read round the margin. On the same side, between the arms of the cross, are four small interlaced knots; and on the centre, within a small circle, is the cross. The edges of the stone are much broken and damaged. Sir John Maclean<sup>1</sup> is of opinion that this monument is as early as the ninth century. It may be interesting to note that on a similar stone near Margam House, in Pembrokeshire, is the inscription, *ILLI FECIT HANC CRUCEM IN NOMINE D'I SUMMI*.

Among the many crosses which have been preserved by those interested in these ancient symbols of Christianity may be mentioned the one that now stands in a field on the western side of the parish church of Sennen. This cross was being used as a bridge over a stream when the Rev. R. J. Roe secured it, and set it up in its present position. This cross is nearly 7 ft. in height.

An ordinary form of cross found in Cornwall is a shaft surmounted by a round head, on which a Greek cross stands in relief.

The cross against the wall of the Market Hall at Penzance is a type occasionally met with. This cross is 5 ft.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Trigg Major*, by Sir John Maclean.

in height, and 2 ft. 3 ins. in breadth, and it was removed in 1829 from the centre of the Market Place to the situation it now occupies. Near the base, on the reverse side, the following inscription was then found: HIC PROCUMBUNT CORPORA PIORUM.

Another form consists of a round head with the extremities of the three arms of the cross pattée, extending beyond the circular outlines of the head. Now if this variety is deprived of the segments of the ring connecting the arms of the cross, we have a cross like the one in the churchyard of Llanhydrock. This cross is 8 ft. 4 ins. in height, and both sides of the shaft are ornamented. The narrow sides also appear to have been carved; but the design is now nearly obliterated. This is now the only example of this variety of cross existing in Cornwall.

Many crosses are 8 or 9 ft. high, while others are only half that height, like the beautiful cross in the garden of Glynn Grylls, Esq., which was removed from Sweal Mayow, near Helston. This cross is 4 ft. 9 ins. in height, and has a breadth of 1 ft. 6 ins. Many of the crosses are only about 2 ft. in height, like the one in the churchyard of St. Erth,<sup>1</sup> or the Latin cross at Clûn<sup>2</sup> or Chyowne, near the Sanctuary of St. Buryan.

The crosses in churchyards were not always monumental. For example, the one at St. Buryan,<sup>3</sup> which is raised on five steps, is situated near the south entrance. This cross would be placed here to suggest a preparation before entering the house of God. From such crosses proclamations were made, and occasionally the priest would address his congregation from them. The crosses in market-places were used for reading proclamations of war or peace, or any other matter of public interest.

The figure of Our Lord is often rudely carved upon many of the crosses. For an example we can take the

<sup>1</sup> This is a Greek four-hole cross with a figure of Christ on one side, and five bosses on the other. The height is 2 ft. 2 ins., and the breadth is 2 ft. 3 ins.

<sup>2</sup> This cross has a figure of Christ carved upon it, and is 2 ft. 3 ins. in height, and has a breadth of 2 ft. 7 ins.

<sup>3</sup> The design on this cross is similar to the one in the churchyard of St. Erth. There is a second cross at the road-side.

Greek cross in Gwinear<sup>1</sup> churchyard. The head inclines to the right, in strict fulfilment of the ancient tradition.

As an example of the transition cross we may take one on St. Michael's Mount. The cross is Greek in form. A Maltese cross is at the head, and a Latin cross on the shaft, while between the two is a figure of Christ. The reverse side has a plain Latin cross. The height is 6 ft., and the breadth 2 ft.

Few of the richly ornamented crosses are more beautiful than the cross at Lanherne. This remarkable monument was removed, several years since, from the Chapel Close of the Barton of Roseworthy, in the parish of Gwinear. On the lower part of the shaft are inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> A plain cross is on the reverse side. The height is 5 ft. 4 ins. and the breadth is 1 ft. 7 ins.





# ON THE CHURCH OF St. NICHOLAS AND ITS ANCIENT FONT,

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM OTHER FONTS OF  
SIMILAR ANTIQUITY.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HANNAH, VICAR OF BRIGHTON.

(*Read August 19, 1885.*)

It would scarcely become my office to complain indiscriminately of the results of church restoration. From a practical point of view we must admit that the interests of living people are to be regarded as most important in the eyes of each successive generation; but it cannot be denied that architectural history has suffered greatly from the manner in which one age after another has erected its own structures, with a careless indifference to previous labours, so as far too frequently to blot out all the traces of the past. To take an illustration on the largest scale. The Norman cathedral-builders have left us scarcely a relic of the work of the præ-Norman prelates. The masters of the Early English revival, again, have adorned the Norman work with a graceful finish, beneath which we cannot always discern the sterner outlines which the conquerors left. The restorers of the Perpendicular age, in turn, have encased the more ancient work by their strong bars of rectilinear precision, as if they would imprison the older fabric in strait-waistcoats of stone. And when the living instinct of architecture had died out for a season, a meaner race wrought out a deeper and more irreparable mischief, of which a single example may be mentioned at Salisbury.

If we narrow our view to parish churches, like that of St. Nicholas, Brighton, which we inspected last Monday, the difficulty is increased in proportion as the original structures were smaller and more obscure. The change of site, which often took place even in the case of cathedrals, as in the great Norman movement from villages to cities, of which we had an example in the transfer from Selsey to Chichester, or as in the later migration from Old to New Sarum, seems to have occurred still more frequently in regard to parish churches, which in



Font — St Nicholas Church Brighton.



some cases followed the natural lead of population, and in others were transplanted for some special reason.

It is difficult to believe that the parishioners of the original Brighthelmston would have erected their church so far beyond the north-western limits of their village, or have sacrificed their daily convenience to the remoter object of providing a landmark for the use of those at sea. But whether the site has been changed or not, it is certain that the oldest portions of the existing fabric cannot carry us back beyond the middle of the fourteenth century at the farthest; and the whole has been almost entirely rebuilt within the memory of man.

But fonts and screens are very different matters. The screen of St. Nicholas probably dates much later than 1350. The font carries us back to a remoter antiquity, and is obviously far more ancient than any of its present surroundings. We may safely say that the whole history of modern England, from the Conquest to the present time, is crowded into the centuries that have intervened between the rude carving of that font and the delicate skill which has recently adorned that chancel. But a font belongs to the class of movable material, and our forefathers would be very likely to preserve with special care and reverence the laver of regeneration in which their children had been baptised. "It is very usual", we are told, "to find a rich Norman font in a church of which no part is nearly so old."<sup>1</sup> Just as it has been thought that the old sculpture of the Raising of Lazarus at Chichester may have been rescued from the cathedral of Selsey, which was long since buried by the sea, so the old font of Brighton may possibly have been brought from some earlier building on the shore, which long ago yielded to the encroachment of the waves.

The fabric itself is one of something like three hundred and eighty churches which are dedicated to St. Nicholas in England alone,—“the Good St. Nicholas”, the patron of all those who go down to the sea in ships, as well as the lover of little children and the friend of the poor. Mrs. Jameson remarks that, “so widely diffused, and of such long standing, is his fame, that a collection of his effigies and the subjects from his legend would comprise a his-

<sup>1</sup> Simpson, *Ancient Baptismal Fonts* (1828), Preface, p. xiii.

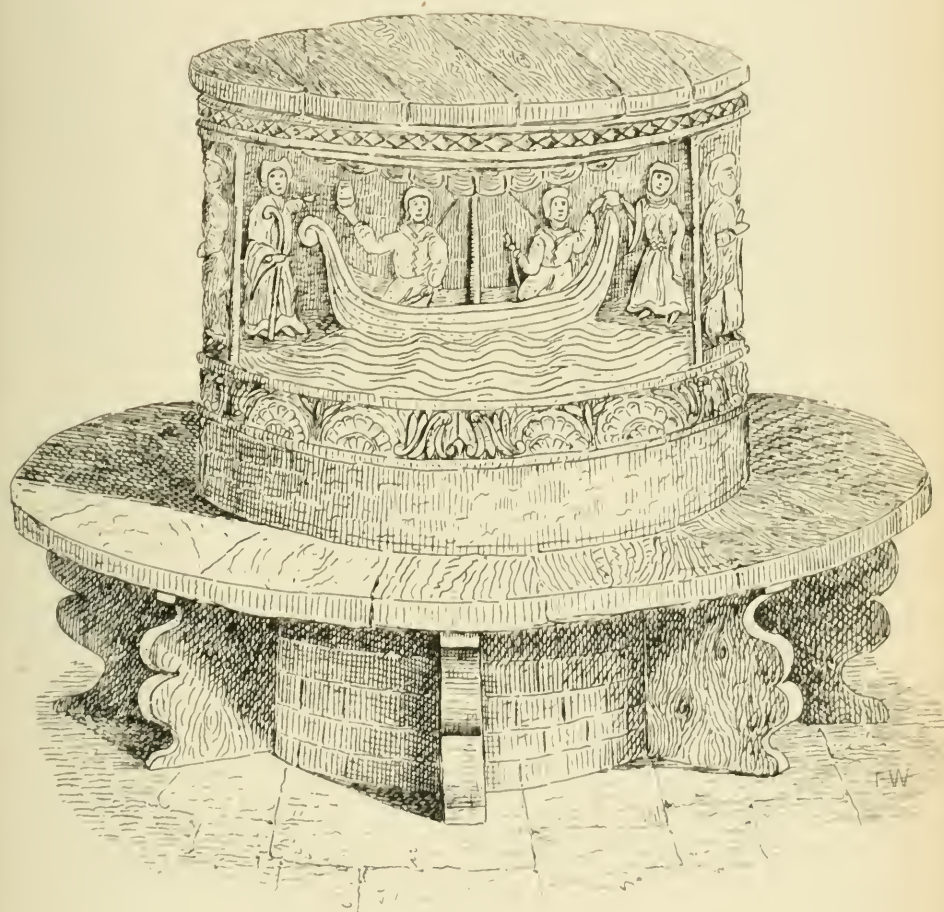
tory of art, of morals, of manners, of costume, for the last thousand years.”<sup>1</sup> Though not a line professes to call him author, his name stands next to those of the great Eastern Doctors in the Greek office of the “Prothesis”, where the formula runs, “In honour and memory of our holy Fathers and œcumenical great Doctors and Hierarchs, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Cyril, Nicholas of Myra, and all holy hierarchs.” We trace his symbols in great pictures like the Blenheim “Madonna” (now the property of the nation), where the calm figure on our right, which stands in serene beauty as he meditates on the Gospel, can be identified as that of Nicholas of Myra by the memorials of his charity, the three balls or purses at his feet. We see his image graven in rude quaintness on the ancient seal of the barons of our Lord the King at Pevensey,—a small, mitred figure standing in the attitude of blessing on the deck of one of two ancient galleys with their sails rent into very conventional shreds by a storm.<sup>2</sup> And to turn to the topic more immediately before us, the legend of St. Nicholas gives the key to that which was once the most obscure of the subjects sculptured on our block of ancient stone, and yields a still completer explanation of the scenes which are graven on the beautiful black marble font at Winchester.

These old fonts have suffered almost as much from the guesses of antiquaries as from the meddling of churchwardens, like those who once scored their now obliterated names and date upon the base of the font at Brighton. I will not recapitulate the long series of blunders, under which antiquaries of name and reputation have veiled their failure to read the meaning of the Brighton sculptures; but I will proceed at once to offer, if I can, a more satisfactory interpretation. We need not now dwell on the mouldings which run above and below what we may call the pictorial compartments, though they suggest instructive comparison with other work. The sculptured scenes with which we are more immediately concerned are in part at least obscure, in contrast with the brilliant clearness of the famed black marble fonts of

<sup>1</sup> *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 464, ed. 1879.

<sup>2</sup> *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, i, 21, and Plate No. 4.





Fant — St Nicholas Church Brighton.



Hampshire. There is no doubt that the eastern compartment depicts the Last Supper, and that the nautical scene upon the west describes a portion of the St. Nicholas tradition, as it is recorded in the *Golden Legend*. The three figures on the south undoubtedly represent the Baptism of Christ. The two figures on the north, which remain the most obscure, have been thought to denote the ordinance of marriage; or possibly, though less probably, the ceremonial of betrothment. But I must describe these scenes in fuller detail.

1. The Last Supper is represented by a rude sculpture of our Lord, crowned with the nimbus, and raising the right hand in the attitude of blessing. The sculptor could find room for only six of the Apostles, three of whom appear on either side of Christ. Each of the six has one hand uplifted; and the table bears the usual array of loaves and vessels. It is not very common to find this subject depicted on fonts, but I observe one amongst M. de Caumont's examples, taken from the font at Strasbourg, where our Lord is seated in the midst of eleven of the Apostles, and Judas is placed alone, according to an ancient conventionality, on the opposite side of the table.<sup>1</sup> I have the pleasure this evening of showing you a rubbing of the subject from the font at Grimston, in Yorkshire. For this we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. G. F. Browne of Cambridge.

2. The other larger scene, on the west, without doubt represents two stages in a part of the St. Nicholas legend. The tale runs briefly thus: St. Nicholas having checked the worship of Diana, and cut down her sacred tree, Satan, in revenge, prepared an oil that would burn on water, and destroy even stone walls with fire. Assuming the garb of a religious woman, he offers a flask of this oil to some sailors who were voyaging to Myra, with a request that, as a mark of respect to the Bishop, they would anoint the walls of his church with the oil. This scene is represented at the right of the vessel; a female handing the vase of oil over the stern to the sailor who is holding the rudder. At the prow of the vessel we see St. Nicholas, with mitre and pastoral staff. He is apparently questioning the sailor on the gift he has

<sup>1</sup> *Cours d'Antiq. Mon.*, Atlas, Part VI, plate lxxxvii, 1841.

received. We must suppose him to be unfolding the machinations of the "evil and foul Diana", and bidding them cast the fatal present into the sea. This command, says the story, was at once obeyed, and, contrary to nature, the oil blazed on the surface of the water.<sup>1</sup>

3. The compartment on the south side of the font depicts the Baptism of Christ, the details of which scene can be completely made out from many ancient analogies, though the figure of Christ does not possess the nimbus, and there is no trace of the descending dove, or the hand reached out from Heaven, which are often used to bring out the witness borne at the Baptism to the presence of every person in the Ever-Blessed Trinity. I suppose the oldest existing treatment of this subject is found in the marvellous mosaics of the two baptisteries at Ravenna, dating respectively from about 430 and 553 after Christ. The older is that of the orthodox baptistery in the cathedral: three figures, Christ in the centre. On the one hand the Baptist; on the other, by a curious survival of the old pagan feeling, a figure to represent the river Jordan, who is offering the napkin, a task which was afterward assigned to an angel. The Arian mosaic follows the same general arrangement. In Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne* (p. 210) we find an engraving from a MS. of the ninth century, in which Christ stands, as always, in the centre, the whole figure visible through a rising globe of flowing water; the dove and hand above; below, two children holding vessels to represent the fountains of the Jordan; the Baptist on Christ's right hand, pouring water on His head; and on His left hand two figures, of whom one holds the apparel. These general outlines are repeated in many examples, which it would take too long to enumerate. In the font at St. Nicholas we have three figures standing underneath three arches. There can be no doubt that the central figure represents our Lord, standing in the conventional mound of water. The figure on His left I take to be the Baptist, whose right hand, stretched towards Christ, is concealed behind a pillar. The left hand of the Baptist holds an article, which may possibly be either a gourd or

<sup>1</sup> See the narrative in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (ed. Nuremb., 1481), fo. v, v<sup>o</sup>; or in the English of Wynkyn de Worde, fo. xliii, v<sup>o</sup>.



Font — St. Nicholas Church Brighton.





a shell, and across his left arm hangs a napkin. The winged figure on the right of our Lord no doubt represents the angel who is holding the baptismal apparel. Like the rest of the sculptures, all these figures are rude in the extreme; but I think we need entertain no doubt about accepting the general outline of the above interpretation.

4. The fourth compartment, on the north side of the font, though it contains two figures only, is the most obscure of the series. It has been suggested, but I fear it cannot be proved, that it may possibly represent the ordinance of marriage. The details of this interpretation are not convincing, and I need not repeat them. With this partial exception, I hope we may regard the mystery of the Brighton font as solved. I propose now to say a few words on the remarkable black marble fonts of similar antiquity, which seem to have been brought over soon after the Conquest from the north-east of France or from Flanders.

1. To begin with the font in the cathedral of more distant Lincoln. For the following account, the structural part of which applies more or less to all the others, I am indebted to Præcentor Venables. "This font consists of a square basin, supported on a sturdy central cylinder, with smaller shafts set round, one at each angle. The whole is supported on a square base. Each of the four sides of the square basin is carved in low relief with nondescript animals, couchant, with arborescent tails. They are maned, and are perhaps intended to represent lions. They remind one distantly of the animals of the Nineveh marbles. There are three of these couchant monsters on the north and south faces, and four on the east and west faces. The angles of the flat upper surface, between the circle and the square, are sculptured with a rude imitation of the Grecian honeysuckle. The capitals of the sustaining shafts die into the lower part of the basin; the bases are formed of wide-spreading leaf-like processes. The whole is made of black basalt."

In the neighbouring county of Hampshire there are four of these fonts which claim our attention.

2. One of these, at St. Mary Bourne, near Andover, is known to me only by a drawing with which I have been

favoured by the Vicar, the Rev. S. J. I. Lockhart. Structurally, it resembles the other fonts of black basalt or marble. It appears to be richly covered with symbols and tracery, but without any records of history or legend. Two sides are beautifully arcaded. The third and fourth show graceful combinations of fruit and flowers. Above one of the arcades, and in two angles of the top, we find the baptismal symbol of the drinking doves, as on the font at Winchester.

The other three Hampshire fonts, all of which I have recently inspected, are at St. Michael's, Southampton, at East Meon, and in Winchester Cathedral.

3. Of these, the Southampton font, like that at Lincoln, presents us mainly with mythical creatures—griffins, or dragons in their prime, except that one of the circular compartments, into three of which each side is divided, contains the figure of a mighty angel; doubtless St. Michael, in whose name the church is dedicated.

4. The font at East Meon is wonderfully curious. Two of the four sides are occupied by symbols; the other two contain a series of figures depicting the creation of man, his temptation, and his expulsion from Paradise. On the north side we have first the creation of Adam, then that of Eve out of his side; next, the temptation, with the apple and the serpent. On the east side we begin with a stately building, which must here be presumed to represent the gates of Paradise. In front of this is the angel with the sword; then Adam and Eve, with fig-leaves, departing from the portal; next, the commencement of industries,—an angel reaching out a spade to Adam, and Eve holding the distaff. The whole work is so similar in style to that at Winchester that many have supposed them both to be the production of the same unknown artist, and presented to both churches by the same great builder, Bishop Walkelin, though other authorities bring the date down later by a century, to about A.D. 1180.

5. At Winchester, as at East Meon, two of the four faces of the font are filled with symbolical figures, such as the two doves drinking from one phial, and the like. The other two sides are devoted to the legend of St. Nicholas; which Milner, after recanting his earlier acquiescence in a dream about Birinus and a Saxon king, has worked out with a minute care on which no later



Fant — St. Nicholas Church Brighton.





observer, so far as I know, has been able to improve.<sup>1</sup> We begin with a conventional building, which, no doubt, now represents the Cathedral of Myra, where the rescued sailors recognised their saintly benefactor, and against the walls of which, as you have just heard, the Evil One in vain devised that fatal and destructive oil. Before its portal stands St. Nicholas with mitre and pastoral staff. Five figures are arranged in line in front of him, of whom the nearest is kneeling, and apparently receiving a purse at his hands. There can be no doubt that this represents the most famous of all the St. Nicholas legends,—the provision which he made, by the gift of three purses of gold, for the marriage of three poor maidens in sore distress. The episcopal dress shows a variation in the legend, for it is more generally represented that the good deed was performed by the saint in his youth. If that one of the five figures who kneels before the Bishop represents the father, then the other four would represent two of the three bridal pairs (all that there is room for) to whom his bounty had secured this prospect of happiness. These figures fill the whole south side of the font. On the west side we have the record of four other legends. First, there is a ship with three figures on board,—a sailor with the rudder, a passenger in despondency, and the saint in prayer. This scene clearly refers to the miracle by which he was believed to have rescued sailors in a storm. Next, he is healing sick persons, two of whom still lie before him, while a third is rising. The next scene again represents a very famous legend. St. Nicholas is rescuing three innocent young men from the axe of the executioner; and the sculptor seems to catch the thought, that the heads that were meant to fall beneath the axe were raised beneath the pastoral staff. The last scene is thought to represent the posthumous legend of the youth with the cup which the father sacrilegiously withheld after devoting it. In one place the youth lies dead beneath the sea, in another he is restored to life on the repentance of his father.

To sum up briefly then : at Winchester the sculptured figures all relate to the legendary history of St. Nicholas. The sister font at East Meon departs from it entirely,

<sup>1</sup> *History of Winchester*, 2nd ed., ii, pp. 77-83.

and depicts the history of that death of sin, from which we are restored through baptism to the new life of righteousness. The sculptures at Lincoln, Southampton, and St. Mary Bourne, are almost entirely symbolical. In our font at Brighton the sacramental and legendary are blended. Two compartments set before us baptism and the Supper of the Lord. In a third, it has been endeavoured, but not very successfully, to trace a representation of marriage. The fourth alone relates to St. Nicholas, but it sets forth a portion of his legend with unmistakable clearness.

I have thought that it might interest you to compare together these remarkable works of rude and ancient sculpture, though I am well aware that in many respects the comparison is rather that of contrast than of likeness. The Hampshire fonts are square, and our font is round. The former all rest on a central cylinder, with pillars at the four angles. In the case of the latter, though the base has been evidently altered more than once, it would appear to have been always carried straight down into the ground. The former are all made out of a beautiful black marble, while the latter has been wrought out of a block of Caen stone. I should like to add that there is a considerable difference in the workmanship between the "rich shallow sculpture" of the Hampshire fonts, and the deep relief employed by the sculptor of the font in Brighton. But it is difficult to say how much of this is due to the hardness and sharper outlines of the costlier material. The mouldings of the Brighton font appear also to belong to a different class of art. But they all alike carry us back to an age which cannot be far removed from the period of the Conquest. They are all witnesses to beliefs which had many elements in common. And I hope I may conclude by saying that they all deserve, and will reward, our most careful attention, both as bearing testimony to influential forms of ancient faith, and as illustrating one distinct and remarkable stage of the early development of art in England.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the use of the copper-plates from which two sides of the Brighton font are engraved, the Association is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. J. Smith, North Street, Brighton. The engravings of the figures on the other sides of the font are drawn by our able Associate, Mr. C. Lynam of Stoke-upon-Trent, from photographs by Mr. Edward Fox, Market Street, Brighton.

## THE PECULIARITIES OF THE SUSSEX PARISH CHURCHES.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read 18 Aug. 1885.*)

I HAVE had not unfrequently to point out to the members of this Association that the churches of almost every district of our country have certain peculiarities of design and structure different from those of other localities. This is so in an unusual degree in Sussex, where the buildings have so many features differing from other churches, that it becomes an inquiry of much interest to endeavour to indicate these peculiarities, and to trace their causes.

In Sussex, as in all other localities, the old builders were guided by certain principles, to which they adhered with great fidelity. These were to work out the local requirements with the materials which they found ready to their hands, or within easy reach, and to adapt these designs to harmonise with the local surroundings. Thus true economy was studied, and buildings were erected which seem to grow out of the landscape, so to speak, and to be a portion of it. It is true that in an old church we trace in stone the history of each parish and of the long gone past, if we have eyes to read the history; that we can note many interesting points of art, of heraldry, of the progress of our faith, of the rise and passage of local families, costume, and the like. Our gratification with regard to these and many other matters has often been told by the poet and the author; but it is the artist alone who can trace the charm, greater than all these, of how fitted each old church is to its own peculiar position, and how it seems to be a picture, it may be, grouping admirably with its backing of hills, or its grove of ancient trees, or the hamlet around it.

The churches of Sussex are numerous, and they are of all ages and dates. They are mostly of small size, and a very large number may be found of a single style. As

they were built so they have in many cases remained to our own day, with only such small alterations as the addition of new windows, doors, or the like; works which are at once easily recognisable, and which do not interfere with the ease with which we may trace the original design.

The local peculiarities may be broadly stated as follow: small churches, simple designs, the existence of shingled spires of timber framing (sometimes of large size, but most frequently of very small dimensions), the absence of elaborate ornament, the use of low towers (in many cases covered with pyramidal roofs of so little height that they cannot be called spires),<sup>1</sup> the absence of buttresses, the use of flint for the walls, and the peculiar, laminated stone from Horsham for the roof-coverings. The great weight of this material required the use of timbers of large size; but this was of little consequence when so large a portion of the county was covered with forest until a comparatively recent period. The presence of so much timber, so easily obtainable, is the reason of the existence of the timber-framed spires already referred to. These are admirable specimens of ancient carpentry, and are deserving of careful attention. Fine examples of very early date exist at Horsham, Billingshurst, Wisborough Green, Lindfield, Lingfield, Rotherfield, and other places. Instead of these being covered with boarding and lead, so usual in other timbered spires elsewhere in England, these are, for the most part, covered with oak-shingle. Warped and twisted some of these may be, like that at the parish church of Horsham, yet they stand firm and strong although the storms of fully five hundred years have beaten upon them.

Oak is used very liberally in the construction of the Sussex churches, and in some few cases, as at Newhaven, the arcadings between nave and aisles—upright timbers

<sup>1</sup> With so many examples it is difficult to particularise. The churches of Clapton, Botolph's, Allbourne, Piecombe, and West Dean, may be mentioned. The small, pyramid-like roof has the peculiarity of its slopes being continued to the north and south sides of the tower. The demolished churches at Hurstpierpoint, Iping, Uckfield, and Littlehampton, were also good typical specimens. A circular church appears to have existed at St. Sepulchre's, Chichester; now, like the others, rebuilt.



and arches—are wholly formed of this material. During the repairs to this church, many years ago, it was not found necessary to do anything to these portions, which were sound, although some of the walls had to be rebuilt.

The local sandstone is a material of great value as a building stone, presenting a capital appearance, very durable, readily worked, and easily obtained. It is unfit for moulded work, and is seldom used for such. Its properties have regulated, to a remarkable degree, the designs of the buildings where it is used; the masons having been content with plain chamfers or the like, which could be readily produced, no attempt having been made to carry out designs too elaborate for the material, as is the mistake of many modern works which could be readily named.

Flint is easily procurable, and the county possesses many interesting examples of its use; used roughly, and most probably plastered over in the earliest examples; knapped and used for surface-walling in later ones, or combined in squares or simple patterns with stone. There is hardly anything in the county to remind us of the highly elaborate flintwork patterns of Norfolk and Suffolk. The tower of Seaford Church affords a very fair specimen of the way in which the Sussex builders used their flintwork; and it may be a matter of surprise that, with such good material, no more was attempted.<sup>1</sup>

The Sussex chalk, if carefully selected, is not a bad building material, and its use as such is shown by many existing specimens. Chalk as a backing, and for internal walls, although not a good material, was of common use, particularly (strange as it may appear) in Norman times. We see its use in almost all the recently excavated walls of Lewes Priory, where the frosts of two or three winters have shivered the material badly.

Side by side with its use at Lewes we find large quantities of Caen stone of the finest quality. Caen stone must have been imported in large quantities, for there is no building of importance in the county where it is not used, particularly in those of Norman date. It

<sup>1</sup> There is a consecration-cross, neatly worked in flint, under the east window of West Ham Church.



may be well here to point out that this stone was known and used in the county before the arrival of the Normans. The Saxon sundial of Bishopstone Church is formed of it, as has already been noted in our *Journal*. The Saxon door of what must have been the remarkable church of St. John-sub-Castro, Lewes, is also worked in Caen stone. We saw, during the Dover Congress, at Richborough that Caen stone had been used there by the Romans ; and at Dover either by the Romans or the Saxons, in the Castle Church. The use of the material here in Sussex may, therefore, be accepted as evidence that the intercourse between the countries was sufficiently extensive in Saxon times, as well as later, to include the transit of freestone as an article of commerce. Quarr Abbey stone is also found, and also the yellow stone found at Pulborough. It was extensively used at Arundel.

The Saxon churches remaining in Sussex are numerous and remarkable ; and, indeed, in this respect the county stands unrivalled, for the churches of this early date in Northamptonshire, which exceed these in ornamental detail, are yet different in character. How necessary the Sussex examples are for unfolding to us what the Saxon style was a few words will show. The church at Worth is the most complete Saxon church in the kingdom. We can trace the workmanship of this early period in all its walls. It is a cruciform church ; but the transepts are worked out of the nave, of lesser height, rather than being of the same form and height as either nave or chancel, showing that while the designer had the idea of a cross-church before him, he was a little doubtful as to the way of carrying it out. There is every appearance of this church having been in existence long enough for it to require being added to and altered in Saxon times ; sufficient to disprove what some would have us believe, that every Saxon church, if really Saxon at all, must of necessity be of late date. The fine tower of Sompting is unique in England, and it is invaluable in relation to Saxon art. We have no other example in England of a Saxon tower with its original termination.<sup>1</sup> The form of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bloxam records that the spire-roof has been lessened in height. There is no apparent sign of this ; and the stone gables which support it are Saxon to their summits, showing that at any rate the design has not been very materially altered, if altered at all.

this termination is similar to what is so frequently seen along the banks of the Rhine and in the early German cathedrals. It has, however, never yet been pointed out that this example in England is most probably older than any in Germany the date of which is known.

We may consider that this at Sompting and those in Germany were inspired by some earlier type which has ceased to exist. The great size, comparatively, of this tower, and the form of the roof, which is almost a spire, indicate that the Saxon style had made considerable development before the arrival of the Normans, and that the high-looking steeples figured to us in early MSS. are likely to have had their foundation in fact.<sup>1</sup>

The little church at Chidhurst has been called Saxon, and it may be so; but I am more than doubtful. It is, however, a remarkable building; for it stands on a low hill artificially scarped, very similar to the site of a Saxon castle. It has no spire or bell, and the so-called Saxon chancel-arch has, it is true, the lofty proportion of the Bolney doorway.<sup>2</sup>

The position of many of these Saxon churches is on a bold, rising ground, with a good view from certain positions, showing that the builders were desirous of their work being seen rather than for it to be hidden in some sheltered dell for fear of a foreign foe.

Bosham Church gives us an example of developed work in its close-jointed masonry, which, in contrast with that at Worth, shows that better workmanship had been attained. There are pilaster-strips visible on both sides of the nave of Woolbeeding Church. There is a good

<sup>1</sup> But few examples of Saxon sculptured or interlaced patterns have yet been found; but probably only because observation has not been directed to them. Mr. Romilly Allen has reported the fine example at Bexhill; and at Sompting are some others, including some carved figures in the south transept. The two fine sculptured panels in Chichester Cathedral, said to have been brought from Selsey, are twelfth century work, and not Saxon, as has been stated. The coped tomb at Lyminster is not unlike in form to that at Bexhill, and it is probably of the same early date.

<sup>2</sup> It has plain, square jambs, and a similar arch springing from chamfered imposts. There are somewhat similar arches at Patcham and Piecombe; but the imposts appear only to the soffits, and do not return. At Piecombe there are open arches on each side of the chancel-arch. At Chidhurst there are hagioscopes only. Since the above was written a bell-turret of stone has been added to Chidhurst Church.

south porch, almost like a small transept, at Bishopstone; and portions of walling, also of Saxon date, at Ovingdean, West Hampnett, probably at Ludgarshall, and some others. I venture to think that, as in Kent, much Saxon work yet remains to be discovered in Sussex.<sup>1</sup>

There is a north doorway (now blocked up) at Old Shoreham, a building which has often been measured and drawn, the church being well known; but it seems never yet to have been pointed out that this also is of Saxon date. The Norman church has been built on to it, and its wall is not parallel with those of later date.<sup>2</sup> The changes which have taken place in some of the oldest of the churches are of much interest, and this building is a good typical example. In its first appearance it would justify my opening observation, that it was an early design all but untouched from Norman times until the advent of the modern restorer,—whose work, by the way, here will soon require attention. Closer observation shows that it is engrafted on to a portion of an earlier building.

The changes of arrangement so often to be noted may be illustrated by the interesting church of Southwick, where there is a fine late Norman tower at the west end of the Norman nave. The tower-arch into the church is very small. On surveying the church not long since I found, on ascending the belfry, that this Norman tower had been built on to the west end of a somewhat earlier church, the gable having been retained, and its line being visible. The small arch is the original external door which existed prior to the erection of the tower. The change of West Ham from a cruciform church with semi-circular chapels to the transepts originally, into an ordinary nave with side-aisle, has already been noted by Mr. Freeman, who has also called attention to the original Norman design of the chancel of New Shoreham, a small apsidal structure with apsidal chapels to the transepts.

The Norman churches of the county are remarkable; and the more so since we find many of them in all but per-

<sup>1</sup> An undercroft of Saxon date probably existed at St. Olave's, Chichester. Saxon work has recently been discovered at Bexhill.

<sup>2</sup> The nave is almost entirely of Saxon work, having long and short work of large stones. On the south side are traces of blocked windows; in some places cut into by the modern Norman windows inserted along the extent of the building.

fect condition. Old Shoreham shows us the Norman mode of working out a small cruciform plan; but the most common plans were the usual nave and chancel and a western tower, terminated by a square, conical roof of more or less elevation. This form is very characteristic of the county, and is a very interesting feature, particularly to observers familiar with the towers and spires of other parts of our country, recalling the picturesque village churches of Normandy.

There is a church plan which I believe to have been at one time not unfrequent in England during the period of Norman rule, of which a very interesting specimen exists at Newhaven. Here the tower is between nave and chancel, and the latter is terminated by an apse. The tower has a low spire-like roof, which I believe to be on its original lines. The shingle has only recently been renewed, being worn out by extreme age, but the timber framing remains. This form exists, *minus* the apse, in many parts of England, but it may be traced with difficulty in many churches. We saw at Nether Avon, Wilts, the central tower transformed into a western one, the nave having perished, and the chancel having given place to a large nave. At Lympne, Kent, the ancient tower alone remains, with an Early English chancel to its east, and a large nave and aisle to the west.<sup>1</sup>

The Early English period is represented by a large number of churches, by far the largest in the county. These are, for the most part, of the simple character already referred to, and to this period belong many of the shingled spires. Tangmere Church is a remarkably effective specimen. These churches are invaluable to the artist, for they show how, by the simplest forms arranged in good proportion, most excellent effects can be produced, far superior to some of the overdone works of modern times, where money is wasted in the striving

<sup>1</sup> At Iford the tower is between the nave and chancel, the latter having a square east end. There are three churches with round towers. Their erection is so likely to have been influenced by what was occurring in the Earl de Warrenne's East Anglian manors, where so many of the churches have round towers, that we may safely conclude their form was derived from them. The Norman carving at Bramber Church is, perhaps, the earliest work of this style remaining. It is very quaint and archaic, and it occurs on the capitals of the piers supporting the tower (once central) to a cruciform church, but now at the east end.



after "effect" which is so characteristic of our works. The church of New Shoreham stands unrivalled in the county for its fine work in this style ; but, as we shall see, there is much of early work. This building is a remarkable one for a parish church, for by its form and plan it resembles so much more the minster of some religious house. Good examples exist at Horsham, Broadwater, West Tarring (where the work is very plain), Battle, Clympting, Lewes, and many others.<sup>1</sup>

The Decorated style is represented by but few examples of note. The local material is not fit for elaborate tracery, and the fashion of using Caen stone did not last through the period of this style. The side-windows of Chichester Cathedral are, however, very fine,—good examples of early geometrical tracery ; and at Winchelsea there are also some others of later date well worthy of observation.<sup>2</sup>

The Perpendicular style has produced a goodly number of quaint, low towers having the usual embattled parapets and the angle-turrets, resembling the model church in the Old London street at South Kensington far more than the more lofty towers of Kent. Good examples exist at both of the Hastings churches, at Cowfold, Beddingham, St. Thomas-at-Cliffe, Lewes, and many others.<sup>3</sup>

Low towers are characteristic of the Sussex churches during all styles. Except Sompington and the Cathedral there is hardly a tower that can be called of good elevation, and this applies to whether it be at the west end of a church or central. The central tower of Rye is an example, so is that at Arundel ; and if an older tower be added to, as at New Shoreham, it is still of no great elevation. Accident has also helped to keep this local characteristic to its level, for at Boxgrove, where the central

<sup>1</sup> At Rothersfield a wide nave and side-aisles were covered by a high-pitched roof originally, the eaves coming down to within 7 or 8 feet of the ground-line. This curious arrangement for so large a church was altered in the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> The curious clerestory of Lindfield Church has recently been covered over by a single roof over the nave and aisles, thus inverting what was done at Rothersfield.

<sup>3</sup> The tower of Hailsham has low pinnacles. There are poor ones also at Chiddingley, at the base of the spire, probably a little older than Hailsham. There was a good, lofty tower at East Grinstead, which fell in 1785, and the whole of what was a fine, large Perpendicular church was swept away in the rebuilding.



tower is known to have been higher, lightning reduced it to its present proportions. These towers are often found in very unusual positions.

Unlike most other counties, the parish churches have not copied many of the special features of the Cathedral. The octagonal belfry has not inspired, apparently, a single building; unlike, in this respect, its sister octagon at Ely. The stone spire has had no imitators, for there are but three other stone spires in the county, and these are of very different form and style. The most interesting of these is at Dallington, rising from a low, fifteenth century tower of about the same height as the spire, and having the Pelham buckle on its parapet. I am glad that, in rebuilding this church, a very few pounds spent in pointing were sufficient to effect all the repairs which this fine steeple required.<sup>1</sup>

The retention of the cruciform plan in Sussex is a peculiarity which calls for notice. We have seen it at Worth in Saxon, and at Bramber and Old Shoreham in Norman times. At Clympting there is an interesting church of plain and effective work, of very Early English date. Cruciform in its general lines, it has yet several irregularities of outline common to many of the Sussex churches of early date.<sup>2</sup> At Alfriston is another church, of later date, with a central tower. The plan is almost that of a Greek cross, so defined are its proportions. Poynings gives us the same cruciform plan, but of early Perpendicular date. The retention of this form through so great a period is remarkable; and the more so since it is not usual elsewhere in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Etchingham Church, rebuilt at the close of the fourteenth century, is another characteristic building, retaining something of an earlier feeling, the low tower being between nave and chancel. The window-tracery is among the best in the county, and it is remarkable for a very foreign feeling. The Rev. J. C. Pettit pointed out, many years ago, how closely the tracery of the east window of Alfriston agreed with the design of that at Poyning.

<sup>1</sup> The Pelham buckle is skilfully worked into the tracery of a window at Burwash.

<sup>2</sup> The tower is a portion of an earlier church. From its appearance and position, at the south end of a south transept, it must have occupied a similar position in the earlier building.

ings; while the same design occurred also at West Tarring, as if the design had been copied one from the other.

Time will not permit me to follow the local peculiarities of detail of the church fittings, except to notice that there are a few monumental slabs of cast-iron from the numerous Sussex forges, and that the fonts are very frequently of Early English date, mounted on a central shaft, with four smaller ones at the angles; often, as at Easebourne, of very weak appearance.<sup>1</sup> Others will be found to be of Saxon date, plain, massive, uncarved cylinders; but it is more than probable that the two similar fonts ornamented with interlaced strap-work and cable-mouldings, at St. Anne's, Lewes, and at Denton, are of this date. There are leaden fonts at Edburton, Piecombe, and Parham, the two earliest being of twelfth century date, and having some of their cast ornaments similar in both cases.

The local distribution of the churches singularly shows how sparsely populated the county must have been at the time when it was divided into parishes. They clustered together in towns, such as Chichester, Lewes, Seaford, and Hastings. They are found to follow the seaboard and the course of rivers. Their positions are fairly proportionate to the area of cultivated ground; but the existence of the great forests is sufficient to account for the large areas to be found without a church for miles,—a state of things which private zeal and munificence are nobly altering. The dates when these parishes were formed are lost. There are, however, many circumstances to show that they were formed, for the most part, in Saxon times. *Domesday* mentions many, incidentally as usual. The Archbishop's peculiars were most probably parishes formed soon after the gift of the land by Cedwalla to Canterbury in 680. The dedications<sup>2</sup> of the churches point also in this direc-

<sup>1</sup> Good Early English examples are at Worth, Buxted, Crawley (where it is mounted on a high base), and Lindfield. The remarkable font at St. Nicholas, Brighton, is the most interesting in the county, of early date.

<sup>2</sup> These dedications do not appear to have been altered when once given. The old Saxon wooden church of St. Pancras, Lewes, was rebuilt by Earl de Warenne early in the twelfth century; and the reluctance to change the dedication is shown by the fact that it was retained, and has given the name of the large Cluniac Priory. The

tion. They are almost all to saints popular and common in Saxon as well as in later times. Still there is this peculiarity. Hardly any dedication to an exclusively Saxon saint occurs beyond that of Mayfield to St. Dunstan, and a church at Steyning to St. Guthman. St. Wilfrid, who did so much for the planting of Christianity in the county, is not remembered by the name of a single old church ; nor is there a single dedication to St. Lewinna of Seaford. But this lady may be, perhaps, altogether apocryphal, for we seem to know of her only from the hypocritical monk who prayed for direction how to commit the theft of her relics from the church while he was a guest there. If he could be guilty of such treachery, and write about it, he could have obtained bones from some easier source, and have declared stoutly that they were those of a saint, and that he had obtained them by fraud. I have met with no notice of this lady's existence of earlier date than that of the thief's own story. St. Helen, Ore, is likely to be a very ancient dedication.<sup>1</sup>

The continuance of occupation of the sites of some few of the Sussex churches is very remarkable. Roman urns or pottery have been found under the churches of East Blatchington and Sutton. A few weeks ago, in taking down the modern church at Iping, I found portions of six or eight different Roman vessels beneath the level of the old Norman building pulled to pieces forty years ago. In the foundations of the latter, which were met with also, I took out a fragment of a pilaster-strip, showing that there had been on the spot a Saxon church similar to the neighbouring one at Woolbeeding. These facts are of interest as showing that the sites selected for churches were not unfrequently those which were familiar to the people ; probably sacred from their use as burial-places, if not for shrines for local worship.

dedication to St. Thomas à Becket at Framfield may have superseded that of an earlier saint ; and St. Edmund the King, at East Grinstead, may have given place to St. Dunstan. St. Anne, at Lewes, may have been formerly St. Mary's. But these, if exact, are few in number, and do not affect the general statement.

<sup>1</sup> A tribute of respect from archæologists is due to the memory of the late Rev. Twiss Turner, who, when the new parish church was being erected, permitted me to leave as a ruin the whole of the ancient portions of the old church of Ore rather than to utilise the materials in the new building on another site.

## OLD BRIGHTON.

BY FREDERICK ERNEST SAWYER, F.S.A.

It is probable that if nine persons out of ten were interrogated as to the history of Brighton, they would reply that, prior to a century ago, it was a miserable fishing-village, devoid of history, and wholly uninteresting to the archæologist ; and the following remarks are, therefore, intended to prove the incorrectness of this view. From its lack of tangible relics of mediæval antiquity, the town has been the butt of some antiquaries ; and not being a large port, or situated on a navigable river, or on a main road, or groaning under the rule of ecclesiastical or feudal lords, it has not played a great part in English history ; but if quiet work, free customs, and absence from the extremes of faction or intolerance, be considered as virtues, the town will rank high.

In common with many other places, its written history commences with *Domesday Book*. At a recent meeting of the British Association, *Unwritten History, and How to Read It*, formed the subject of a popular lecture, and it is certainly well worthy of consideration by all archæologists. In dealing, therefore, with the unwritten history of Brighton we consider, first, its physical geography. There is little doubt that the whole coast-line of Sussex has, within the historic period, been slightly raised, and probably by earthquake-shock. Before this raising, a small estuary of the sea divided the present parish into two portions, viz., those east and west of the Steine respectively. The earliest inhabitants of the county (probably some of the Belgic tribes) fortified the hills near the town, and particularly the commanding summit known as Hollingbury Hill, which commands the central valley. The importance of this position will appear in the excursion which is to be taken to Ditchling Beacon, and will show that Hollingbury Hill practically dominates the whole district round Brighton, whilst on the east it is still further protected by another hill-fortress known



as White Hawk. As these hill-forts (in common with all in Sussex) are destitute of any water-supply, it is probable that they were only temporarily resorted to during predatory raids, the inhabitants usually dwelling in the valleys. We may further bear in mind that the South Downs then formed the main highways from east to west the Wealden forests and morasses being almost impassable. A stream, no doubt, entered the estuary from the London Road, and another from the Lewes Road, and these obviously formed the lake, *Welesmere* (mentioned in *Domesday*), which gave its name to the Hundred. *Welesmere* signifies "the lake of the well", and within the last twenty years Patcham Well has overflowed and formed a miniature river down the London Road.

The valleys from Brighton to Lewes must have been at this time somewhat similar to the Upper Engadine, *i.e.*, consisting of a series of small lakes, starting from the *Welesmere* at Brighton to *Stunmere* (Stanmer), *Fulmere* (Falmer), and *Burgemere* (now Bormer), near Lewes.

It would seem that the mere at Brighton abated, and by the time of the Hundred Roll had dwindled to a river known as the Wellsbourne (*Walesbon*), but since corrupted to *Whalesbone*, the modern name of the Hundred. This river flowed into the sea at Pool Valley, which is the remainder of a harbour or port at Brighton; and the stream, though gradually becoming smaller, was still to be traced in maps of the last century: and, indeed, the present Borough Surveyor (P. C. Lockwood, Esq.) states that he remembers a distinct stream in the Steine enclosures. This stream originally rendered the central valley impassable, and consequently no houses were built east of the Steine until quite late in the last century.

The early names of the hill-forts are unknown, but the chief one, doubtless, received its name, Hollingbury, from a Saxon tribe of *Hollingas*, who also gave their name to Hollington, a parish near Hastings. The fortress is in Patcham parish; but lower down the hill, in Preston, is Hollingdeane, the pasture of the tribe. The surnames of Hollingham and Hollingdale, derived from this tribe, are still found in Sussex. The other fort, White Hawk, situated at the end of the Race-Course, is said to be named from *wied ac*, signifying a solitary oak. Trees, it should



be observed, are very rare on the Downs. Indeed, Dr. Samuel Johnson, when visiting Brighton, said that there was not even a tree on which a man could hang himself if he so desired.

There is a small pond on White Hawk Hill, and the ghost of a headless woman, who carries her head under her arm, is connected with it. The gipsies hold a kind of fair there on the Sunday between Goodwood and Brighton races. Tradition says that a gipsy saw the spectre a few years ago, and he picked up the shin-bone of a horse, and flung it at the figure, when the head disappeared, as if knocked out of the ghost's hand; and the ghost vanished at the pond, according to its usual custom. The name of the hill, and the existence of this legend, seem to point to some ancient and curious tradition associated with the spot.

Between the camps of White Hawk and Hollingbury is a spot known as Scabe's Castle. It is situated just below the Brighton Workhouse, and probably was a place of shelter into which the sheep were driven in case of hostile attack, being named from Ang. Sax. *scæp*, a sheep.

It is not clear whether there was a Roman village of any importance at Brighton; but the Romans certainly occupied the camps, and their settlement was, no doubt, at the head of the estuary, on Round Hill, which forms the lower slope of Hollingbury Hill, and the district to the north in the Preston valley. Roman remains have been found in the neighbourhood of both the camps. In Springfield Road and Preston Park small remains of Roman villas have been found, thus confirming the view that the camp on the hill above was only used in case of hostile attack.

Major-General Pitt-Rivers<sup>1</sup> states that his attention was drawn by Mr. Boyd Dawkins to the evidence of an extensive flint manufacture which exists in the neighbourhood of Hollingbury, and which left little doubt on his mind that the work was of British origin.

No British names are connected with the town or any physical feature in its neighbourhood; but it is to the Saxons, who conquered Sussex between 477 and 491, that all the local names are due. The tribe of Hollingas has

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xlii, p. 40.

been already mentioned ; and there was another, the Islingas, or Ishelingas, which gave their name to land in the north-east part of the town ; still preserved as Islingword Road, signifying the possession or farm of the Islingas. Saxon Brighton apparently consisted of two small hamlets, situated respectively in the north-east and south of the present parish. The one was Islingword, and the other Atlingworth, *i.e.*, the farm or possession of the Æthelingas or descendants of the noble. These were, perhaps, the original names of the settlements ; and the latter still survives as the Manor of Atlingworth, and there is a street of the name. The two settlements seem to have become connected, and some Saxon named Bright-helm fortified them with the usual bank and stockade of wood (*tine* or *tinning*), and it became Brighthelmstune. In its earliest recorded form in *Domesday* it appears as “Bristelmestune”.

Much foolish discussion of the name has taken place, one author suggesting that the inhabitants painted their helms, or rudders, more gaudily than their neighbours ! The writer has collected upwards of eighty-four different spellings of the name adopted during the last eight hundred years, and has submitted them to Professor Skeat, who kindly furnished the following notes : “The *Domesday* spelling is a French spelling, and the French had no means of representing the guttural except by an *s*. Why they chose *s* I do not know ; but we find in old MSS. *doster* as a spelling of ‘daughter’. This occurs, for example, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, A.D. 1440, and much earlier. Of course the true Anglo-Saxon spelling must have been *Beorthelmstun*. ‘Brighthelm’ occurs in a lateish copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the date 693. A man of that name died that year. Of course his name at that date would have been *Beorhthelm* ; but it soon passed into Brihthelm, about A.D. 1000.”

Other Saxon traces are preserved in the names Steine and Knab. The former (derived from the Saxon *stān*, a stone) is the southern part of the central valley, and the precise origin of the name is not very clear ; but Mr. Elliott points out, in the Burrell MSS.,<sup>1</sup> that we have the *Steine* at Brighton ; then *Staumer*, a parish a little to

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus., Add., 5684, p. 304.

the north ; and *Standean*, to the south-west of Ditchling Beacon,—which are, perhaps, the remains of the Roman *milliaria*, or milestones, on the road from London to the coast. It might be observed also that there is a parish named *Street* in the Weald. Mr. Elliott also considered Stoneham, near Lewes, and Steyning (Staening), as marking the Roman road from east to west. There is a farm named *Stantons* in Westmeston parish.

The Knab (Sax. *cnæppe*) is a slight eminence near Market Street and Brighton Place.

One of the most interesting features in connection with Brighton is the perfect illustration it affords of an ancient village community. Mr. Seebohm, in his valuable work on the *English Village Community*, has been one of the first to describe this important branch of early archæology, so that it is unnecessary to explain it now. It is a system of agriculture under which each inhabitant held certain strips or sections of land in the common fields, and which were then cultivated in common, according to certain rules. In Sussex this is called the system of *Tenantry*, and is found in most of the South Down parishes between Brighton and Eastbourne ; but the best development is at Brighton. It further exemplifies the *Mark* system as described by Sir Henry Sumner Maine in his work on *Village Communities in the East and West*.

The Old Town of Brighton was situated almost entirely below the cliffs, but in time extended above. This was the *Mark* of the village. The ground was probably first broken up between East Street and West Street, and possibly on the hill-sides also, thus converting the *Common Mark* into the *Arable Mark*. It is difficult to trace the early history of the *Mark* in Brighton ; but in the year 1738 a *terrier* (or land survey) of “the Common Fields” was made by Budgen, and another in 1792 by another surveyor ; and to the owners, at these dates, the titles to property in the town can be still traced with great accuracy.

We find that outside of the Old Town (which was bounded by North Street, East Street, and West Street) were five large tracts of land known as the *Tenantry Laines*, and called the East Laine, Little Laine, Hilly Laine, North Laine, and West Laine. These *laines* were

again divided into *furlongs*, which were, however, separated from each other by narrow roads called *leakway-roads*. The land in the *furlongs* was in its turn subdivided into long and narrow strips called *pauls*, running at right angles with the *leakway-roads*. In some cases the strips, or *paul-pieces*, were of double width at one end, this increased width extending for only half the length. These pieces were, from their shape, termed *hatchets*. The *laines* were situated on the hill-sides, and the *furlongs* extended upwards; the *leakways* were thus at right angles with the hill-side, and the *paul-pieces* parallel to it.

This mode of land-division has had a singular effect on building operations in Brighton, for the *leakways* have become main streets, as St. James' Street, Edward Street, Church Street, Trafalgar Street, Gloster Road, etc., whilst the smaller streets run parallel to the *paul-pieces*. The rapidity with which the ground was covered with buildings had a great influence in preserving these old land-divisions. The primitive boundaries of the *furlongs*, etc., are thus kept permanently preserved. The reference to the Common Field is still kept up in the majority of conveyances of land in Brighton by giving, after the description of the land, and its abuttals, the name of the owner at the time of one or both *terriers*. Thus: "Part of 4 pauls of land, late Friend's, before Gunn's, situate in the 3rd furlong in the Hilly Laine in Brighton."

The term *paul* cannot be traced in any other parish in the county except Brighton. Professor Skeat has kindly furnished the following notes on the terms *paul* and *laine*: "*Paul*.—Certainly from the Anglo-Saxon *pál* (long *á*, not *pal*), whence modern English *pole* and *paul*. *Paul* or *Pawl* will be found in Webster's Dictionary in quite another sense, but it is the same word. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxon *pál* is not English at all, but a mere corruption of Latin *palus*, a stake. So the sense is 'stake'. *Laine* would rather suggest some such Anglo-Saxon form as *læn* (pronounced *lain*), which in Anglo-Saxon commonly means 'a gift'; but the corresponding Norse word *lén* (pronounced precisely the same as *laine*) is the regular legal word for a fief, fee, grant, or holding."

The *Tenantry Laines* of Brighton contained, according



to the 1738 terrier, 921 acres, 1 rood, or 7,370 *pauls* (eight *pauls* in the tenantry measure being equal to an acre). This quantity of land was divided into no less than 1,258 *paul-pieces*; but these were only held by twenty-five persons, as many had *paul-pieces* in various parts of the same *furlong*. There was also another measurement, by *yard-lands*, the total number being 84.

The parish of Brighton consisted of the Old Town, the Tenantry Laines, and the Eastern and Western Tenantry Downs; and over the latter the owners of land in the *laines* had certain rights of pasture termed *leazes*, so named from the Anglo-Saxon *læsu*, pasture or common. It is very difficult to trace how the right of pasture became exclusively vested in the owners of land in the *laines*, for there is no doubt that in earlier times the inhabitants of the town generally had some rights. The *Brighton Costumal* of 1580 provided that the constable should have a horse-lease, and the two head-boroughs one cow-lease and twenty-five sheep-leases, "for their pains and troubles in their office". The common flock of sheep was kept on the Tenantry Downs. About the year 1750, on the Eastern Down, twenty sheep in summer, and fifteen sheep in winter, were allowed to be kept in respect of each yard-land; and the common shepherd, in consideration of his labours, could pasture eighty sheep in summer, and seventy in winter.

It appears that the custom of *Tenantry Laines* prevailed also in most of the South Down parishes near Brighton, and is found in the parishes of Rottingdean, Rodmill, Alfriston, Denton, Berwick, Beeding, and Kingston-near-Lewes, and can probably be traced in all the South Down parishes from Brighton to Eastbourne. Amongst these, the *laines* were best developed in Kingston parish, where we find in the Swanborough and West Laines, no less than 60 furlongs, and many other furlongs in the Brooks, etc.

It seems probable that the land in the Brighton Laines was cultivated on the "Common Field" system, especially as the earlier Court Rolls contain frequent allusions to the Common Fields; and the Terrier of 1738 is expressly termed "Terrier of the Common Fields of Brighton." The *pauls*, *páls*, or stakes, were probably placed at the



edges of the furlongs, and indicated the parts of the crop to be reaped by each owner. The *leakways* apparently took the place of the baulks of turf referred to by Mr. Seeböhm, which in other places, under the Mark cultivation, separated the fields.

The *tenantry flock* was (as Mr. Kemp's affidavit shows) usually kept on the Sheep Down; but when taken from the Down, invariably kept on the fallow lands, or *grattens*, in the Tenantry Laines.

Professor Nasse, referring to the development of village communities into manors, remarks that in very many cases the lord of the manor shared in the communism, and his land had to be tilled according to the common rules, was subject to the same rights of pasture, and his cattle grazed with those of his tenants upon the common pasture-land.<sup>1</sup> This, perhaps, accounts for the number of divisions of Atlingworth Manor, which early in this century consisted of no less than eighty-three detached fragments.

At the time of the *Domesday Survey* Brighthelmstone included three manors, and a church is mentioned, and also a fish-rent of herrings, showing the occupation of some of the inhabitants; and as about a hundred males are referred to in connection with the town, it would not be unreasonable to suppose the population was then quite a thousand in number. Earl Godwin, who is described by the late Mr. J. R. Green as the first great lay statesman of English history who owed his elevation to sheer ability, was the owner of one of the manors.

The town has suffered severely from sea-incursions, and between the *Taxation of Pope Nicholas* in 1292, and the *Nonarum Inquisition* in 1341, no less than forty acres of land were washed away. Defoe, in describing the effects of "the great storm" of the 27th of November 1703, says: "Brighthelmstone, being an old built and poor, tho' populous town, was most miserable torn to pieces, and made the very Picture of Desolation, that it lookt as if an Enemy had Sackt it."

It has been stated by some local historians that the

<sup>1</sup> "Village Communities." See *The Contemporary Review*, May 1872, p. 751.

town was burnt by the French in 1377; but as a letter in the State Papers of 1635 says it had then been twice burnt by them, it would appear that the references were to the attacks in 1512 and 1545, and not to the former date, when many Sussex towns were destroyed. In 1512 Monsieur Pregian (vulgarly termed "Prior John") landed and burnt the town. Hall's *Chronicle* states that in the 6th Henry VIII, Sir John Wallop was Admiral and Commander of the English fleet sent to revenge the burning. Dr. Cobham Brewer, in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, attributes the origin of the term "wallop" as signifying a good thrashing, to the reprisals of Sir John Wallop on the French coast, when he burnt twenty-one towns and villages. It must, therefore, be a grim satisfaction to us as Brightonians, and also "Britons who never will be slaves", to have been the cause of adding the term "wallop" to the English language. Great destruction was effected by the French in this attack on Brighton, and the Chantry of St. Bartholomew, which stood near the site of the present Town Hall, was then reduced to ruins, although its name is preserved in the street called "The Bartholomews." In consequence of the injury the town then sustained, it was exempted from the heavy subsidy of 4s. in the pound granted in 1522.

In 1579 disputes had arisen between the fishermen and landsmen as to the payment to the churchwardens of a share in the profits of the fishing-boats, etc., to the maintenance of the church and the defence of the town. The ancient customs were accordingly (under royal authority) reduced to writing, and the original book is still in the custody of our veteran Vestry Clerk (Somers Clarke, Esq.), and signed by Lord Buckhurst and Sir Thomas Shirley or Shelley. The customs, which are very curious, are too numerous to mention.

In 1618 the inhabitants, of their own authority, revised their customs. It has been truly said, "there is nothing new under the sun", for we find that in 1618 the people of Brighton had fully anticipated the Permissive Bill (as the writer has pointed out to Sir Wilfrid Lawson), and they declared that "Forasmuch as the said inhabitants of the said town of Brighthelmston hath of long time,

<sup>1</sup> *The Reign of Henry VIII*, etc. (J. S. Brewer), i, p. 481.

and yet still are, to the making hereof been over-charged and suppressed by the multitude of poor people, which daily are thought to increase by the means of many ale-house keepers and victuallers, which do harbour and receive all comers and goers, to the great hurt and hindrance of the said inhabitants' consent, it is now ordered by the said inhabitants, for the suppressing of the said number of ale-houses and victualling-houses, that from henceforth for ever hereafter none of the said inhabitants whatsoever shall at any time hereafter draw, sell, or keep any victualling or ale-house within the said town without a letter or testimonial of the said inhabitants in writing first had and obtained by and with the consent of the constable, vicar, or curate, or six other substantial men of the said inhabitants, whereof four to be of the seamen, and two of the landmen, in their behalf, to be made unto the Justices of the King's Majesty's Peace, whereby they or so many of them, and not more, may be lawfully licensed to use the said trade of victualling and ale-house keeping; and also that such a competent number may be by the said Justices of the King's Majesty's Peace (whereof one to be of the quorum), and by and with the consent of the said inhabitants, nominated and appointed; and that none other of the said inhabitants may use or occupy the said trade of victualling or ale-house keeping in the said town, but so many of them as shall be *lawfully* licensed as is aforesaid, upon pain or peril of every one so doing contrary to the true meaning of this present order, to forfeit for every barrel of beer so drawn six shillings and eight pence."

One of the most interesting events connected with the history of Brighton was the escape of Charles II from the town in 1651 (after the battle of Worcester), in the boat of Captain Nicholas Tetterzell. The various accounts of the matter have been carefully collated by the writer in a paper in vol. xxxii of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. The inn visited by the King was "The George", which appears to have been situated in Middle Street, but is now pulled down. It is quite clear, from the Court Rolls, that the so-called "King's Head", in West Street, was not the place, for it is not even described as an inn until 1754, when first called "The George".

Tettersell's mate on the occasion of the royal flight was Richard Carver, who was a Quaker; and from an interesting letter from their founder, George Fox, to his sweetheart, Margaret Fell, in 1669, it appears that Carver carried the King ashore on his back, and in November 1669 had gone to the King to desire the release of some imprisoned Quakers. The King, astonished at not seeing him before, inquired the cause, when our Brighton Quaker nobly replied "that he was satisfied in that he had peace and satisfaction in himself; that he did what he did to relieve a man in distress, and now he desired *nothing* of him but that he would set Friends at liberty."<sup>1</sup> The ultimate result of his efforts was the release of four hundred and seventy-one Quakers and twenty other Nonconformists, including the author of the immortal *Pilgrim's Progress*. Mr. Offor, in his edition of Bunyan's works, says "It is an honour to Christianity that a labouring man preferred the duty of saving the life of a human being, and that of an enemy, to gaining so easily the heaps of glittering gold."

The Royal Pavilion, in which we are now assembled, is perhaps too recent to be of much interest to archæologists, but we may mention two or three matters connected with its history. The original building was erected by Louis Weltjie, cook to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV), and, as the writer has discovered, was then leased by Weltjie to the Prince, the lease containing a purchasing clause. It may reasonably be assumed His Royal Highness was the first and only Prince who *hired his palace from his cook!* The Pavilion cost upwards of a million pounds sterling, and to this fact Byron alludes in *Don Juan* (canto xiv):

"Shut up,—no, not the King, but the Pavilion,  
Or else 't will cost us all another million."

The chief event in our national history, associated with the Pavilion, was the betrothal of the ill-fated Princess Charlotte to Prince Leopold (afterwards King of the Belgians), which took place here in 1816.

<sup>1</sup> Letter published in "A Select Series, Biographical, Narrative, etc., of Productions of Early Friends." Edited by John Barclay. London, 1841.

## THE ROMAN VILLA AT BIGNOR, NEAR CHICHESTER.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read 18 Nov. 1885.*)

THE recent Congress held at Brighton enabled those among our members and visitors who took part in it to inspect one of the finest, if not the finest, series of Romano-British mosaic pavements now extant; that, namely, at Bignor, near Chichester, in Sussex, not far from the Roman<sup>1</sup> road known as Stone Street, leading in a north-easterly direction from Chichester to Hardham Camp and Pulborough, *en route* for Billinghamurst, Dorking, Tooting, and London.

Our visit to that important relic of early history was not, I am happy to say, hurried over; for although it has sometimes been charged against us that sufficient time is not always allowed for examination, *in situ*, of the antiquities we have undertaken to examine (and in some cases, I fear, with good grounds of complaint), the Association devoted considerable time to the Bignor villa, under the excellent arrangements of Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*; and we were further fortunate in the lucid account of the villa given on the spot by our veteran Vice-President, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A. But it has since occurred to me that a short account of some of the salient points of archæology which the villa and its pavements exhibit, and an opportunity of inspecting the plan and the facsimiles of the mosaics, would not be unacceptable to those who were unable to avail themselves of the opportunity of taking part in the pilgrimage to what is certainly an antiquity of the first class among the many which we still possess.

Antiquaries owe a deep debt of gratitude to the late Rev. S. Lysons for the praiseworthy zeal he evinced in collecting and figuring all matters concerning this villa.

<sup>1</sup> *Journ., Gloucester Volume*, p. 98.



In 1815 he published in his *Reliquiae* (itself a reprint of communications to the Society of Antiquaries, published in *Archæologia*, vols. xviii, xix) an exhaustive treatise copiously illustrated with coloured plates, executed in the highest manner of art, and faithfully accurate in detail, which compare favourably with the best antiquarian illustrations of the present day.

In the month of July 1811, the accidental discovery of a pavement in "Bury" Field, Bignor (then in occupation of Mr. George Tupper, whose son has now become tenant of the property), was followed by the removal of the adjacent soil, with the result of further discoveries, which showed that there were two pavements in one apartment: the one a representation of the "Rape of Ganymede", well designed and well executed, looking to the difficult nature of the materials employed; the other filled with six hexagonal compartments, within which are figures of nymphs dancing, which Lysons considers to be much in the style of those which appear on Roman pavements found in Italy. He might as well have said all over the Roman world, for there is a remarkable unity in the form and employment of details found on all Roman pavements. Take, for example, that at Nennig, in Prussia, published by Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., in our *Collectanea*; and those from Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, of one of which I exhibit a coloured reproduction. It is a curious fact that the lower limbs of these fairy groups are incorrectly drawn in the Bignor pavement; but it may be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the Roman artist did not altogether understand the method of foreshortening. In point of fact it is doubtful if any one understood this thoroughly until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The figures and the surrounding ornamentations and geometrical patterns of the pavement are stated to resemble one found about a hundred years previously at *Aventicum* (now Avenches), in Switzerland; and, as I shall show presently, there is another very prominent point of similarity in this Bignor series of pavements with those found at Avenches, whence Lysons very reasonably propounds the theory that the two are the work of the same artist. The tendency of opinion bears towards the conjecture that the Avenches pavements were executed





in the reigns of Vespasian or Titus, A.D. 69-79; and this helps us to assign a date to the Bignor pavement, if we accept Lysons' theory of resemblances. This fact bears out my previous remark as to the sameness of the art in the whole series of known pavements.

The circular compartment with the nymphs is furnished in the centre with a hexagonal piscina or stone cistern, 4 feet diameter, 1 foot  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep, with a step at half depth; having also at bottom a round hole, 3 inches wide, connected with a leaden pipe for carrying off the water. This exactly compares with what was found at Avenches; and these two examples of cisterns are believed to be the only ones of the kind yet known.

To the west of these another pavement was found, which when whole measured 44 feet by 17 feet, formed of two large squares. One included, among other ornaments, ovals in the spandrils; a boy, perhaps Arion; a dolphin; and a pheasant, sacred to Artemis or Diana; and a cornucopia of Ceres or Pomona. In another part of this were four octagonal divisions, each including a star composed of two interlaced squares,—a style of ornament much affected by later artists; and probably, in this instance, not so much the outcome of invention as of conventionality.

It is unfortunate that three of the four pictures embraced or framed, so to speak, within these squares have perished. One, however, remains; and when seen in the summer it had, I regret to say, suffered materially since its first discovery in 1811. It is the head of Hiems, or Winter, personified, with downcast countenance, to which the cunning skill of the operator has deftly managed to impart a subtly mournful expression; the head enveloped in an ample cloth, the neck and breast covered, and over the left shoulder a bare and leafless branch. In the other compartments there can be little doubt that Spring, Summer, and Autumn were contained.

In what manner these personifications were treated we are in a great measure enabled to judge by an inspection of the emblematical figures of Spring and Summer which occur among the magnificent collection of mosaic pavements brought from Halicarnassus by Mr. Newton to the British Museum. I am inclined to consider the pale yel-



low background which is seen here is not the result of mere caprice, but intended in a measure to represent the pale gloom of wintry days, hardly then differing from what we experience generally in the English winter. It is worthy of notice that one of our greatest poets has invested Winter with this identical and certainly very appropriate attribute of a leafless branch :

“The swallow Summer comes again,  
The owlet Night resumes her reign,  
But the wild swan Youth is fain  
To fly with thee, false as thou.  
My heart each day desires the morrow,  
Sleep itself is turned to sorrow,  
*Vainly would my Winter borrow  
Sunny leaves from any bough.*”

It would almost seem that Shelley had visited the pavements, or taken notice of Lysons' work, which was at the very time of his writing the above (1821) attracting the attention of all antiquaries.

It is not my intention to trespass on the time (short as it is) at the disposal of the meeting, by going one by one through the rooms and pavements of this villa. The plan indicates the immense area and the unusual size of the apartments, and Mr. Lysons' work may be easily consulted either in the original edition, in the reprint by the learned Dalloway in *The History of Western Sussex*, and more easily still in the excellent reprint by our printers (Messrs. Whiting and Co.), who have sold out their first and far too limited impression of Lysons, with a plan of the western part of the villa, and five chromolithographic productions of the tessellated pavements. I believe also that our Hon. Treasurer, Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., proposes to devote some considerable amount of attention, in his forthcoming work on Romano-British mosaic pavements, to this example of Bignor.

The general plan is, like other villas, conceived as a rectangular court, more or less rhomboidal, with apartments along two sides. No two Roman villas have been yet met with which could bear any slight amount of comparison in the matter of ichnographical detail. In this point of their constructive arts, Roman villas are in a certain way connected with prehistoric rather than



civilised structures. I show small plans of the Roman villas in Gloucestershire. You will see how they differ *inter se*.

The year following, 1812, revealed to scientific and judicious explorations further new and interesting results: among others the triclinium at the north-west angle, with wall of stucco covered with plain red colour, whereas the wall of *a* (first room) had paintings on the stucco. We may here notice that the very recent explorations of our Hon. Associate, Dr. Schliemann, on the site of the archaic city of Tiryns, have yielded several important paintings of stuccoed walls, principally ornaments of a feather-like pattern. These are reproduced in his work on that city, just published; and the occurrence there of Greek art-pottery of the most archaic styles, which must be referred to at least the remote period of 500-600 B.C., shows how great is the antiquity of painted walls. The tombs of Etruria (*teste* Dennis) demonstrate the same tendency of wall-decoration; and we are bound, in view of these instances, to admit the high antiquity of this elegant fashion, which is probably seen at its height in Pompeii and Herculaneum, but here only in a subordinate and fragmentary condition.

The room *c*, on the north of *b*, and west of *a*, yielded a very beautiful geometrical design in tessellation, 20 ft. by 9 ft. 9 ins., quite perfect, and when seen in the summer of this year still intact.

Mr. Romilly Allen has shown the occurrence of the simple ornament, consisting of two oval links interlaced at right angles, on sculptured stones of a period which may be taken to embrace even the twelfth century, while the *fylfot*, or cross-tau, which, according to some, represents thunder and lightning, is seen in the very earliest style of painted vases of Greek and Cypriote styles, that unquestionably belong to five centuries before Christ. Hence we have in this beautiful design a common ground where the symbolic imagery of incipient art, fostered and nurtured unintentionally by the Roman mosaic worker down to a post-classical epoch, is shown side by side with other emblems which grew into important factors under the hands of those who cut the elaborate crosses of Wales and western England;—who

illuminated the wondrous dædalian MSS. of the sixth, seventh, and succeeding centuries; and which even set patterns worthy of being, as they indeed were, imitated by Celtic goldsmiths and British and Saxon workers in silver and bronze.

No one can inspect these two geometrical designs, pleasing to the eye by the cunning balance of lines, curves, cable-twists, angles, and stellar patterns (like, and yet unlike, each the other), without acknowledging that the artistic skill of the designer and faculty of the fabricator must have been of the very highest order. In the centre of one is the flower known in after ages as the *flos amoris*, or *quatrefoil d'amour*, the "flower of love", composed of four heart-shaped petals in cross. Into how many architectural sculptures of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has not the adoption of this one detail alone passed, where it is better known as the "ball-flower" ornament.

The cable-twist, like the link, possessed powerful attraction for the art-student of the early centuries of the Christian era. Accustomed to wander through the deserted villas of the Romans (then, no doubt, far less difficult of access than now, when the progress of time has covered them over with the mould which happily shields them from mischief and further decay), the educated eye of the wandering neophyte of art became familiar with patterns which were seen to be beautiful in symmetry and tastefully harmonious in colouring; and with but slight adaptation to the outline of the cross, or the border of the painted page, he reproduced in such books as *The Durham Book of St. Cuthbert*, *The Book of Kells* at Dublin, and many others (of which Mr. Allen has given a list in the last number of our *Journal*), ornaments almost identical, and not seldom absolutely the same, with the patterns noticed on pavements such as those at Bignor and elsewhere.

I now pass to another point in the art of this pavement, suggested by the design found on the room *i, k*, where we see a school of Cupids disguised as gladiators, in four groups of two each, presided over by a master, set on a frieze with a border of three-fold plaited cords. This leads up to a very remarkable design set in a semicircular







apse, within a border ornamented with a wavy line of foliage springing from a vase which has a ball in its stem; a peculiarity known to have been employed under similar conditions at Pompeii, and of the age of Titus.

Although we have not at Bignor an example of Orpheus (not unfrequently converted by the early Church art into Christ, the Good Shepherd, whose voice the sheep hear, and He knows them, and they follow Him) taming the wild beasts to the sound of the lyre, as at Horkstow and Cirencester, admirably depicted in our *Journal* some years ago, we have in the centre of this apse a head of a female which ostensibly, perhaps, was intended for Artemis or Diana, to whom the pheasant was sacred; for we see on the "swags", or festoons, which hang at the sides of the circular plaque containing the head, a bird of the pheasant tribe holding a branch in its mouth. Or, if not Artemis, then Plenty or Pomona, to whom the cornucopiæ below the festoons would be appropriate; but the occurrence of the light blue nimbus behind the head of the figure seems to indicate a Christian personage, which I think may be, without undue conjecture, taken to be the Virgin Mary. It is true that the use of the nimbus, originating as the sun's disc, and seen in many forms in Indian and Oriental art, commences as an attribute of divinity long before Christian times; but this is so thoroughly a Christian form of the nimbus, and so rare (for with the exception of a similar nimbus on the head of Bacchus in the already compared pavement at Aventicum, no other example is known), that we can hardly attribute it to any other religious *cultus*. The half-length figure of Christ or the Virgin, in a circular plaque, is also seen on the gilt glass Christian plates and discs in the British Museum collections.

When we bear in mind that Cogidubnus, the reputed occupier and builder of this villa, was in close correspondence with Rome, and under Roman influence, in the first century after Christ, it is quite possible that knowledge of the new religion had passed to Britain, and found acceptance at Bignor. Mr. Brock and Mr. Grover have pointed out, in the pages of our *Journal*, many evidences of pre-Augustine Christianity in England. This offers another link in the chain of proof, and I recommend it to their study and examination.



To conclude this hasty summary of a few out of the many points of interest which the pavement presents, I am desirous of recording before you my conviction that, notwithstanding all Mr. Tupper's intelligent care, the pavements are deteriorating. It is a stigma upon us as a nation to allow our antiquities to perish, however slow may be their march towards oblivion. A comparatively small sum would purchase them, and secure them for all time from further decay. If our rich men willingly give thousands of pounds for a single vase or a single picture but two hundred years old, will no one person, or corporate body, or syndicate, be found to give a price for a series of art-pictures in coloured stone, nearly two thousand years old; rarer than most of the so-called rarest objects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? And must we only awaken to the value of the gems we have despised when they have perished beyond recall?

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## SAXON FONT IN SOUTH HAYLING CHURCH, HAYLING ISLAND, HANTS.

BY JOHN HARRIS, ESQ.

(Read 18 Nov. 1885.)

THIS ancient relic is on the floor of the church in the south aisle. It is a limestone rock, square on the outside, round internally, with a large fractured hole at the bottom, and a smooth, round one, about 2 inches, in the side of the font. It is perforated with numerous marine worm-holes, and indented with sea-shells. The whole font, externally, is much defaced by the action of water, and broken at the top. It measures at the top 2 ft. 3 ins.; at the bottom, 1 ft. 9 ins.; from top to bottom, 1 ft. 6 ins. The outside is covered with geometrical figures, as shown in the sketches.

Longcroft, in his *Biographical Account of the Hundred of Bosmere* (published in 1858) says "the old font was found in 1827, in a shallow well in the south parish, and taken to Westbourne, but subsequently placed in its present position on the floor of the church. The locality of the well is not given, but most probably it was removed from "*Slut's Well*", about 300 yards from the west end of the church. This can hardly be called a well, as it is a copious perennial spring of pure water rising to the surface of the ground, which is excavated to the depth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft.; the sides having three layers of large stones, enclosing a space of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The ground sloping downwards on the south gives a free course for the overflowing water. It is pretty certain that this is the spot in which the font was placed to receive the water, the large fractured hole at the bottom permitting it to flow into it, the small hole at the side allowing the water to escape into the adjacent pond.

Not one of the oldest inhabitants knows anything of this interesting relic; but there is a tradition of an old church being swallowed up by the encroachment of the sea. Historical documents exist to confirm this belief.

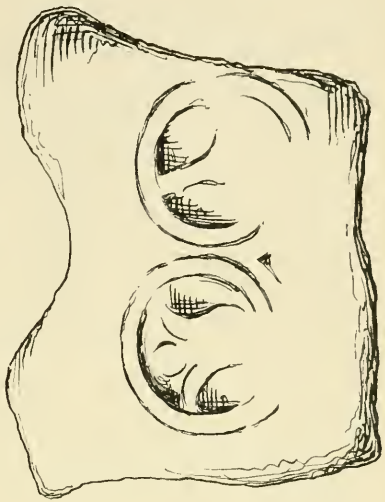
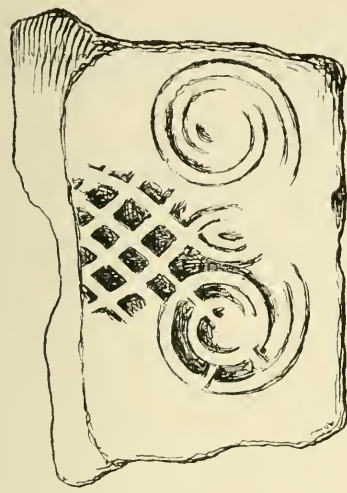
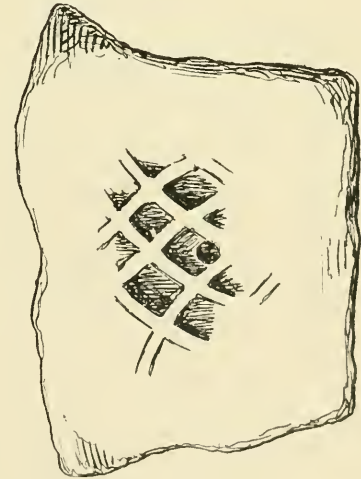
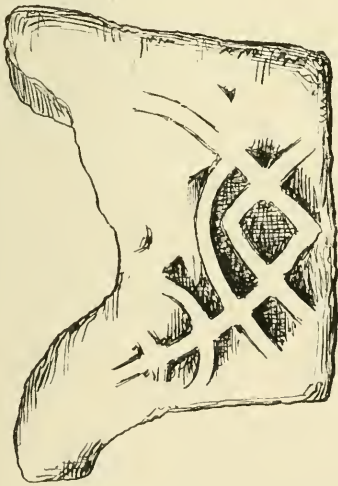


These, and the great physical changes on the sea-coast of the Island, go far to prove the accuracy of the tradition, and also to suggest that this old font was removed before the entire destruction of the church, and used as an appropriate reservoir at "Slut's Well".

About three quarters of a mile from the shore, opposite the Crescent, is a lot of rocks called "The Church Rocks", a name suggestive of the locality of the lost church. At low states of the tide may be seen portions of a wall cemented with a *very hard yellowish mortar* which, in the words of an octogenarian, "was harder than the stone". That *masonry* exists is *certain*. Wherefore should it not be a portion of the church?

The coast hereabouts has been wonderfully changed by the invasion of the sea. Fifty years since the mouth of Chichester Harbour was only 2 furlongs wide. It now is three quarters of a mile. Within the same period the spot where races were held has been washed away. An old man of the Island asserts that he heard his grandfather say "that with a 10 foot pole he could at low water touch the bottom anywhere between Hayling and the Isle of Wight." In the British Museum is a map of Portsmouth and its environs at the time of Henry VIII. It shows that at that date *Hayling Bay did not exist*. The submerged church, it is said, was built in the middle of Hayling; if so, the land must have extended to within two miles of the Nab Light-Ship, which is about six miles from the present shore.

We now turn to documentary evidence of the existence of the submerged church, and the physical changes in the Island shore. William the Conqueror granted the church of Hayling to the Abbey Church of the Blessed Mary and St. Peter of Jumièges, Normandy. Henry II confirmed this grant. Thus, then, it must have been the lost church, since the present church of South Hayling was not built until about 1272-1291. The small church of St. Peter, in North Hayling, is about the same date. Three churches are known to have been in Hayling; but there appears to be no distinct account of the erection of any of them. The date of the old church may be about 1050, and it was rendered unfit for service in 1339-40. This is determined by the return of an inquisition in the



OLD FONT, HAYLING.

(Lime Stone.)





14th of Edward III, which makes it clear it must have been abandoned some time before the inquisition. Previous to this date, on March 8th, 1324, a warrant was issued by King Edward to inquire into damage done by inundations. "It was found that 206 acres of arable land, and eighty acres of pasture land, had been lost in the Island since the time of Edward I." By the records of the eighteenth year of the reign of Edward II (1325) it was proved "that at that particular date a considerable portion of the Island was swept away by an inundation of the sea. The parish of Pagham, a few miles to the east of Hayling, was devastated by the sea to the extent of 2,700 acres.

Sufficient evidence has been adduced to warrant the assumption that an old church was in existence before the Conqueror's time, that it was submerged by the encroachment of the sea, and that the font was in it as far back as A.D. 900. *The Biographical Account of the Hundred of Bosmere* is replete with the ecclesiastical history of Hayling. The Island is full of historical interest. A knowledge of the locality for the past fifty-five years shows me how great and rapid has been the invasion of the sea, and that the *tradition* of the lost church is (to my mind) a matter of certainty.

The late Rev. C. Hardy, many years incumbent of Hayling, told the present holder of the living (the Rev. — Bell) that a pedestal belonged to the font, which was taken away and used as a "boundary-stone" between the north and south parishes of Hayling. A recent inspection confirms the existence, *in situ*, of the stone, which is worked at the top to fit the font.

I am indebted to Samuel S. Markham, Esq., for the excellent sketch of the font.

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## THE PRIORY CHURCH OF BOXGROVE.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

(Read August 18th, 1885.)

THE Priory Church of Boxgrove has been much written about, and thoroughly illustrated. Its history has been fully explained, and its architectural details exhaustively dealt with; yet notwithstanding all these efforts to throw light upon the building, it must, after all, be visited to be duly appreciated. The technical description of a structure like this, and its architectural delineation, are one thing; the quietness of its situation, its peaceful surroundings, the silver grey of its flint-built walls, the red tiling of its roofs toned with golden lichen, and its picturesque outlines enhanced by the rich foliage of varied green, go far to make up quite another thing. What idea of light and shade, of sunshine and shadow, of brilliancy and sombreness, or of colour, do the mere lines of the architectural draughtsman convey? What notion of the spirit of design, of the power of scientific construction, does mere verbal history give us? To enjoy the pleasure of these qualities we must, of necessity, visit the place itself. Here we are to view these remains in all their beauty and interest, carrying us back, as they do, for at all events seven hundred and fifty years.

*Its Present Condition.*—Let us look at what these works display to us. First we shall see that one limb of this church has been, with the exception of a fragment, severed from the body, and that the central feature of the whole has been robbed of its due proportion, the want of which is felt over the whole building. In plain terms, the nave (except its eastern bay) is now a ruin; and an arcade-story, with the lantern-lights of the tower, are shut out from view.

The principal remains now consist of the church, of the west front of the chapter-house, and of a three-story building to the north of the church, which has been variously called the “refectory” and “Prior’s dwelling”. There are also some indications of cloisters to the north of the

church, and perhaps the site of the wall which surrounded the precincts is discernible on the west and south sides. The conventual buildings were, without doubt, to the north, and there are signs of considerable erections west of the "Prior's lodging".

*The church* is a cross on plan, with a central tower ; but the western limb or nave is now a ruin, excepting to the extent of one double bay. The north and south transepts are without aisles, but there are clear indications of each having contained an altar on its eastern side. The eastern limb or choir is of four main bays, each subdivided into two ; forming in all, therefore, eight bays. It has north and south aisles for its whole length, their vaulting answering to the eight bays of the choir. To the west of the south transept, filling up the angle between it and the south aisle of the nave, is a porch which forms the present main entrance into the church. Northward of the centre of the north choir-aisle is a vestry, approached only from the church. Over the transepts lofts have been erected, making them of two stories. What remains of the nave has a south aisle ; but is without one on the north, which was the case for about half the length of the entire nave when it consisted of six main, subdivided bays.

Besides the main entrance there is now a small doorway on the west side of the north transept. The second main bay from the east, on the south side of the choir, has had its subdividing pier removed, and in it an erection bearing the name of Thomas la War, with the date 1532, has been put up, to the utter disfigurement of a large part of the choir. Not intending to mention this "monument" again, its complete debasement of character may be here observed, and notice drawn to the carving on the central pendentive of its roof, where four angels are represented, with their heads downwards, at the back of a shield which bears the coat of arms of the said Thomas la War. Could anything be more inconsistent with true art or right feeling ?

The porch, vestry, central tower, and transepts, have timber roofs. The choir and its aisles, the nave and its south aisle, are all vaulted. The tower and transepts were not designed for groining. A large part of the ori-

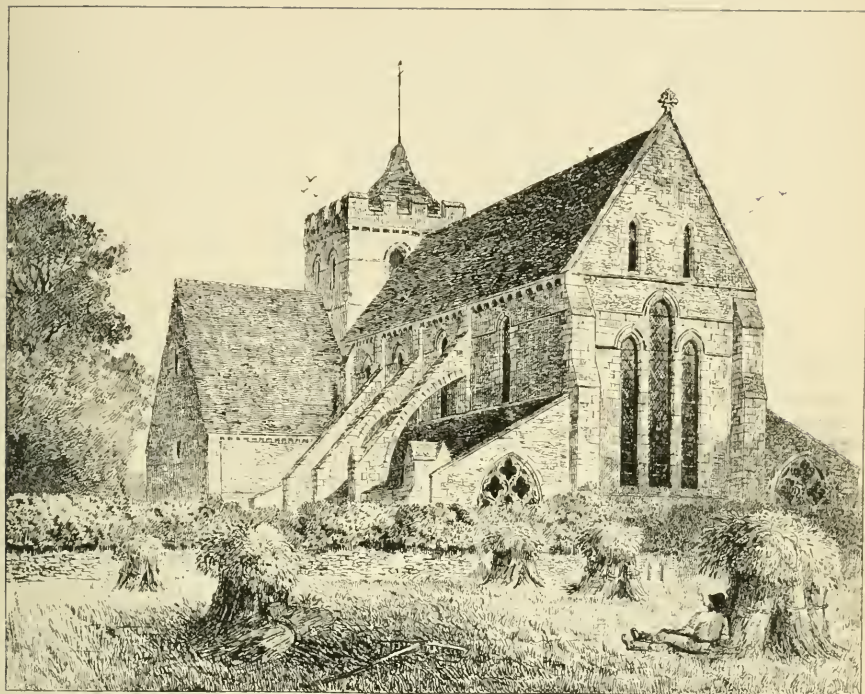
ginal roof-timbers over the ceiling of the choir still remain. They have double collars and braces, strengthened by tie-beams, with king-posts and struts at certain intervals. The western part of this roof has been remodelled in more recent times. The whole of the filling-in of the vaults of the choir is of chalk. It is a little curious that the splays of the two lancet-windows at the east end, which light this roof (not seen from any part of the church), should be plastered, of original work.

The groin-ribs to the choir-vault spring from the main piers only, and the vaulting is entirely without ridge-ribs both longitudinally and transversely. The vault to the nave is of the same character as that to the choir, and so are those to the aisles of the choir, except that it is dealt with by the limits of the sub-bays. The vaulting to the south aisle of the nave has no ribs.

There has been great controversy as to whether there were not two churches under one roof within the length of the entire building. The lower part of the west wall of the present church is an early one, and in it are two doorways with a blank space between, where, it is suggested, stood the altar to the second church. At Lilleshall Abbey, in Shropshire, there is a corresponding division made by a stone screen such as the lower part of this work may have been. It would be interesting to learn when and how the Abbey Church became, as it now is, the parish church.

*Its Architecture.*—At a first glance the church generally would probably be put down as of the Lancet period, with Transitional Norman at the crossing; but there are some subtleties of chronological sequence, especially about the crossing and transepts, which merit careful attention. If this be given, it will be found that in the transepts and nave are the remains of a former church, which probably had only a short eastern limb with aisles, and a western limb with south aisle only. The principal evidences pointing in this direction are the two small, rude, semicircular arches between the transepts and the choir-aisles, and the one similar arch to the south aisle of the nave, and the blocked-up, early, semicircular windows in the flanks of the transepts. These walls appear to have had two tiers of windows in their height, and so does

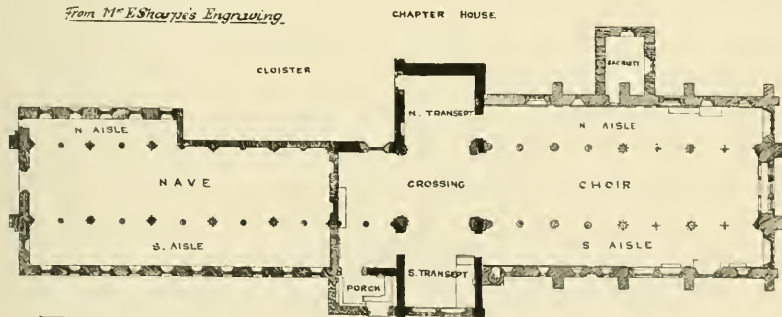




BOXGROVE PRIORY CHURCH - FROM S.E.

## BOXGROVE PRIORY PLAN

*From Mr. Estlin's Engraving.*



- NORMAN
- TRANSITIONAL
- LANCET
- CURVILINEAR
- RECTILINEAR
- MIXED PART TRANSITIONAL

10 20 30 40 50 60 FEET





the south gable. The present nave-roof, though lower than that of the choir, is higher than that of the original church, as a lower line of roof is distinctly marked in the interior of the south transept, and the weathering string-course is still partly preserved both here and against the eastern wall of the tower, marking the line of the roof of the original choir and transepts, the ridge of which is 1 ft. 8 ins. below the string beneath the present upper windows of the tower. Then, again, that very precious fragment of the western front of the original chapter-house, reminding us of its fellows at Wenlock and Haughmond, is a clear fact pronouncing the existence of an establishment of earlier date than the bulk of the present buildings.

It is said that the Priory was founded between the years 1117 and 1135 A.D., and the earliest work may, perhaps, be placed as falling within these dates. The great piers of the tower form a focus of much chronological interest. In them is contained a portion of no less than four distinct periods; that of the earliest in the simple, square jamb, from which spring the rude, semicircular arches of the aisles; the transitional Norman in the south-western respond of the south aisle; and later transitional Norman in the moulded faces which form the main part of these piers; and finally, the western responds of the lancet-choir.

Before leaving these great piers it should be more particularly noted that the present low, flat ceiling above the main arches shuts out from view features of architectural interest second to none in the whole of the fabric, namely an arcade of Pointed arches on each face of the tower, with widely splayed semicircular windows above, which were intended as a lantern to this central point in the church. This arcading consists of four Pointed arches on each face, springing from central and side-piers, having double shafts in the reveals, with single intermediate shafts. The caps of these shafts are richly moulded and carved, and the bases and arches are likewise well moulded. Above these arches runs a string-course, from which starts the high, splayed sill of the upper windows, which are treated in a simple manner, but effectively occupy nearly the whole wall-space by their openings and broad splays.

The next part, in point of date, is the arcading of the nave with the lower part of the wall above. This nave has also been designed originally on the plan of a main bay subdivided by minor shafts, for there are still to be seen the large clustered pier and the single cylindrical shaft alternately. It is a curious fact that this principle of design should have prevailed from the earliest to the latest main work throughout these buildings; for first it is to be seen in the openings on each side of the chapter-house doorway (which treatment in this situation is said to be unique), then in the late Norman nave, and again in the later but more ambitious choir.

The whole of the eastern limb is of one date, allowing for its commencement at the extreme east, and gradual development westwards. It will be noticed that the first two main bays to the east are of a richer type of treatment both in the mouldings and in the materials, for in them the use of Purbeck and other marbles is more abundant than in the western portion. All the windows in this part were originally of the lancet form; those to the aisles being treated in the simplest manner, whilst the triplet at the east end, and those of the clerestory, are elaborated by marble shafts, rich mouldings, and some carving. It will be seen also that the diagonal ribs of the groining are enriched by the dog-tooth, and have carved bosses at their intersections.

Next to the choir, in point of date, comes the south porch, which is of Decorated character; and lastly, the vestry, which is of Perpendicular date, of a very good type. There are also sundry late insertions of windows in the choir-aisles and gable of the south transept.

Of the *architectural* design of this building too much cannot be said in its praise. Perhaps there is a little inconsistency on this head in the later raising of the roofs of the limbs of the cross, and in all probability the low and humble original church had merits of simplicity and consistency which the present building, as now seen, appears to lack. But then we know not what was in the minds of the late builders with regard to the central tower; but this we do know, that their building, regarded in itself alone, bears evidence of the greatest aptitude of design and constructive skill. It seems to have been a

settled principle at the start, with the designers, that their building should not be excessive in height, whilst they determined at the same time that considerable length should be maintained; and how to proportion the comparative lowness of the structure to its great length (the present church being in length six times its width in the nave, and the entire length more than ten times) was the main problem to be solved by the designer. No happier means could, perhaps, be adopted for this purpose than the principle of main and subsidiary division of the bays before alluded to; and this I make bold to suggest was the reason for the adoption of this method of design. It is obvious also that this principle carries with it the necessity for as little need of the aid of flying buttresses as possible, and it allows of that bold and singular treatment of an arcaded clerestory which is here adopted. *Externally*, the proportion of height in the building is ample, as the addition of a high-pitched roof above the vaulting gives all the increase in this direction which is desirable, and nothing could well exceed in perfectness of design the eastern end of the choir. Of the whole it may be fairly said, that in its general outlines, and in the simplicity of its several parts, the architecture of this church is of the most instructive kind.

*The Dedication.*—The dedication of the church was in the names of the Blessed Mary and of St. Blaise, a Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia; and originally it contained at least five altars, of which more than traces remain of four: three at the east end of the choir, and one against the east wall of the south transept. The slabs of the high altar, and that of the south aisle, are now in the floor of the church at those points.

During the late alterations some ornamental floor-tiles were found, and they now form part of the floor at the east end of the south aisle. They are of very varied design, and of early date. Some bear inscriptions, others represent birds, stags, hounds, and fleurs-de-lis of peculiar treatment. Many of them have the lines of their patterns incised, and some are border-tiles. On the east wall of the south transept, and the north-east respond of the tower, are some early wall-decorations in colour. Of ancient glass there appears to be none.

There are monuments on the floor of the aisles and the south transept, most of them being table-tombs formed of Purbeck or other marble; that in the south transept is of great size. They are all very much of one type, and of late date. Brasses have been removed from some of these tombs. There is also one coffin-lid of marble, with a slightly raised cross upon it, of probably the date of the choir, now lying in the south transept. One modern brass in the south aisle deserves to be mentioned for its simplicity and the sentiment it conveys. It is to the Countess of Derby, "our Benefactress"; put there, no doubt, by those who had reason to remember and perpetuate the good deeds of one whom they esteemed. The altar-plate is of silver, and is dated 1865, and very appropriately superseded one single broken chalice of pewter.

In the south transept is a pillar-stoup like one this Association saw in a remote church in Pembrokeshire last year. There is but one bell in the tower, which is, however, as much as 4 ft. in diameter at its mouth, and is carried by a most substantial oak stock no less than 2 ft. 3 ins. deep. The bell bears a long Latin inscription to the effect that it was recast out of the remains of a former ring of eight bells which were injured by lightning, and it bears date 1673. As before remarked, this tower was not designed as a bell-tower, but as a lantern.

*On the outside* of the church, besides much excellent architectural character, there are many points of archaeological interest. Amongst these must first be mentioned the ruins of the west arm or nave of the church, with the aisleless wall on the north, the Pointed arches on the south, and remains of the west end, and the wall of a north aisle towards the west; also the indications of the cloisters against the west wall of the north transept and the north wall of the nave. On the pediment of the eastern flying buttress to the choir, and on the corresponding buttress on the north, there are carvings which have attracted much attention. And last of all, there is that arched western face of the Norman chapter-house, with the remnants of its groinings and vaults, to which every one must turn an admiring eye.

Of all the other conventual buildings, but one solitary block at present exists, which lies to the north of the



church, and runs north and south. It has been of three stories in height; that on the ground-floor vaulted in five bays lengthwise, and two transversely. There have been at least three doorways in this apartment; one at the south end, and one on the east and west sides respectively. The ground-floor was lighted by widely splayed windows in the side-walls. On the west side, in the second bay from the north end, has been a fine, open fireplace. At the south end, on the east side, there are indications of an abutting building, which was probably a staircase. The first floor has been a fine apartment with two entrances on the west side, in the end bays, and one in the south gable. It had a wooden ceiling, which was probably carried by a row of piers down the centre, and placed over the columns below. It was lighted by a fine two-light window in the south gable, and other windows in the flanks, which had seats within their recesses. The upper floor running up within the roof was not a mean one. It was lighted by single-light windows in the gables. To the west, at the north and south ends of this building, are indications of an adjoining structure; to the south groin-ribs remain; and to the north a cupboard in the thickness of the wall, and a large recess, which looks like that of a fireplace. The walls of this building were strengthened by large projecting buttresses, and at the south-west corner of the eaves the springer-stories of the gables still remain. It has been called of the Decorated period; but perhaps it is nothing rash to say that about the year 1300 would represent the date of its erection.

We have now very imperfectly looked at what remains of this ancient priory church and conventual buildings, and we may well finish our review of them with a feeling of gratitude to Robert de Haia, its founder, and a cousin of the Conqueror; to the monks by whose devotion, art, and skill these buildings were erected; and to those who have preserved them to our service to the present time. And further, we shall not disagree in the opinion that either Sussex or any other county may be duly proud of this noble abbey church and its interesting surroundings.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 6TH JANUARY 1886.

S. I. TUCKER, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society" (Evesham), vol. ix, Parts I, II; and "Notes on the Wills in the Great Orphan Book", No. 4.

It was announced that arrangements respecting the Congress about to be held at Darlington, co. Durham, during the summer, were in a forward state of progress.

The Rev. Scott Surtees, M.A., forwarded, through Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, a plan of Dimsdale-on-Tees Manor House and the neighbourhood, showing Roman remains, also probable Anglo-Saxon and mediæval remains; and a plan and section of an ancient blast-furnace found by him in excavations last autumn. Mr. Surtees writes of these as follows :—

"The underground buildings and crypts were full of very *large* worked stones and ruins tumbled in, and in most cases traces of fire. The chambers are from 6½ to 10 ft. deep; and pottery and glass and bones and oyster-shells and shell-fish seem scattered broadcast wherever we dig. I have cleared all rubbish out, and have not yet made out what it represents. The lower part of the crypt seems to be of a different work, for 2 ft., than the upper part. The stones (five of them) bear the same diamond-mark as those at Housesteads-on-the Wall. The *lower* part of the kiln, I think, may have been used for cremation; but the *upper* answers so thoroughly to the same buildings the Norwegians built in Iceland (and we in the North are Norse), that taking into consideration the fact that Siward and his descendants held Dinsdale (*not* Dane-Norwegian), they or he may have built also a temple or *hof* for Thor.

"The paved Roman road is in splendid condition. There is a rise in the middle. The moat was clearly *after* other buildings, and my

house built on top. I have already had to pull down my larders and a coachhouse, and my kitchen is threatened. The camp would protect the *wath*, or ford, over Tees, close at hand. The earthworks and rectangular mounds (street-like) run each side of the Roman road up to the bridge *inside* the outer ditch and earthwork, and can be clearly traced. I have many stone implements, spindle-whorls, querns (very good), iron, etc., broken pottery, and two beautiful glass vases, found *whole*, 10 ft. below the surface.

"I believe the crypt to be Anglo-Saxon. It is marvellously like Hexham and Ripon. There is a very ancient elm-tree, called still 'The Abbot's Elm', and mentioned in every old book,—a sort of tradition of ecclesiastical foundation there. They say it is five hundred years old in some history I have read of Durham county."

Mr. Brock exhibited several rubbings of sepulchral brasses, and promised further notes on them hereafter.

Mr. J. R. Allen read a paper on "Ancient Sculptures on the South Doorway of Alne Church, Yorkshire", and exhibited a photograph and drawings of the details of sculptured animals from the mediæval bestiaries. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and the Chairman took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., read a paper on the "Old Church of St. Mary, Clapham, and Recent Discoveries there", and read letters from old inhabitants who stated that they knew the sculptures very well when access to them was able to be obtained.

In the discussion which took place, Mr. Brock referred to the artistic beauty of the sculptures which have been found in the vault beneath the site of the old church. Mr. Atkyns, a descendant of the family, spoke of the regret all lovers of art-work would feel if the sculptures were again hidden, and promised pecuniary assistance. Several other speakers, residents of Clapham, bore testimony to the great amount of local interest in Mr. Grover's proceedings.

#### WEDNESDAY, 20TH JANUARY 1886.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. CONGRESS SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

C. J. Clark, Esq., 9 Rupert Road, Bedford Park, W., was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents for the Library: Three Russian works on meteorology and physical science.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a fine bronze figure of Our Lord from a crucifix used as an ornament to the binding of a service-book.

The date was thought to be of the twelfth century, and the art Italian. The object formed part of the collection of Mr. J. E. Price, and was found in London excavations. The head is ornamented with an embattled crown.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited a Spanish dollar very much injured by a hammer, and pierced for use as a charm.

Mr. S. Rayson exhibited two very elegant miniature portraits painted on oval copper plaques, one dated 1583. They were set in carved frames of ivory.

Mr. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read a paper by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. Scot., V.P., entitled "The Old Traders' Signs in Westminster Hall", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Mould, Mr. Compton, and the Chairman took part, and a vote of thanks to the author was moved by Mr. Mould, seconded by Mr. Brent, and carried unanimously.

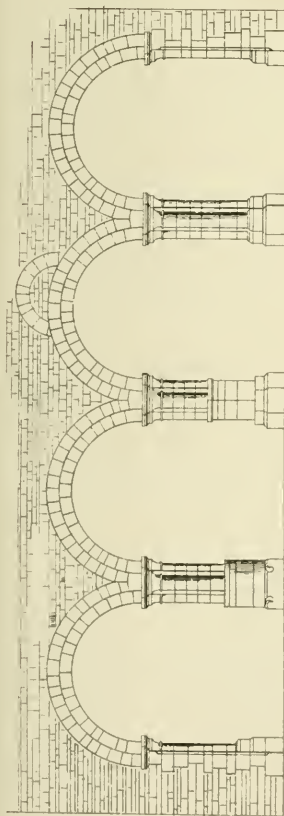
Mr. E. Law, F.R.I.B.A., of Northampton, presented a plan of Moulton Church, co. Northants, and Mr. Brock read the following note :

"Mr. Edmund Law, F.R.I.B.A., architect, of Northampton, presents to the Association a carefully prepared drawing showing various portions of the fine church of Moulton, Northants. The letter A on the plan shows the position of the curious slab of Saxon interlaced work, which I found during a visit to the church in passing a few weeks ago ; a rubbing of which, made by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., we have already seen. The elevation shows the north arcade of the nave, an interesting example of very early thirteenth century work, the details being Early English, while the circular form of the arches reminds us of the Norman style. A portion of one of these arcades is given very incorrectly in the *Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*.

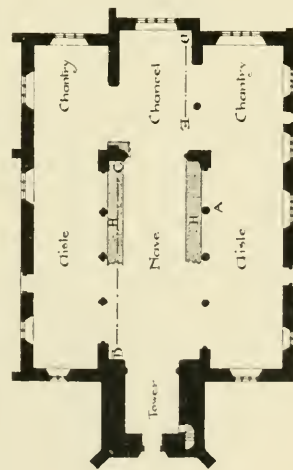
"The drawing is of much interest since it shows traces of a very early little window which was cut through when the arcade was inserted in what thus proves to be an older wall. The window has had a sloping splay from the inner to the outer face, the north sketch showing the reduced size of the window on what was then its external face. It is curious to find this small portion of an earlier, possibly a Saxon church, remaining. While the thirteenth century arcade is below it, there is a fine, lofty, fifteenth century clerestory above it. Although the lower part of the wall has had to be rebuilt, every old stone of the work has been carefully replaced by Mr. Law.

"The plan shows another feature of no little interest. It is the foundation walls of the nave of a still earlier church. This portion is, without a doubt, of Saxon date. The walls, which I have seen, are poorly built, of small stones, and show that the building, which then consisted apparently only of a nave and chancel, was 14 ft. wide.

# Church of SS. Peter and Paul Moulton Northamptonshire:

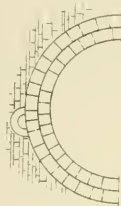


Elevation of North Arcade online B.C. shewing internal arch of supposed Saxon window opening, rebuilt as discovered in situ when Arcade was rebuilt in 1885;



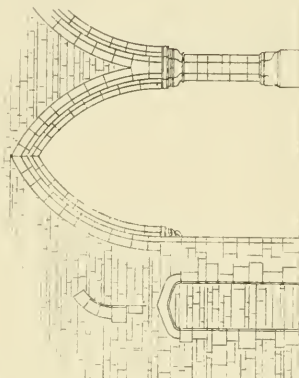
Ground Plan of Church:

Scale 16 feet to an inch.

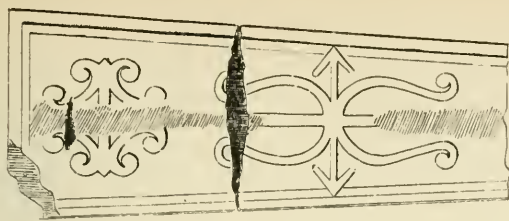


Elevation of North side of arch and window:

Scale 4 feet to an inch.



Elevation of part of South wall of Chancel online D.E. shewing doorway and remains of window, discovered on removing plastering from walls. Scale 4 feet to an inch.



Stone Coffin lid or Monumental slab found under floor of seating in Chancel.

Plan.



Section.

Scale 19 1/2 to a foot.

Cl described above of the Saxon period of which full size detail has been given was found imbedded in base of pier marked A of South Arcade

The portions of wall as here indicated by dotted lines and marked H H represent remains of early foundations discovered when excavating the new foundations to North Arcade. They consist of large, dense & fairly finished blocks with indistinct marks, and are about 4 feet in depth from base of floor of Church the upper courses of which hang about 9 inches below the floor.





“The enlargement of the building in succeeding ages is well shown on Mr. Law’s plan: and a very interesting plan it is. It indicates that while the extensions have been to the east, the west, and on both sides, yet the line of the chancel-arch has never been departed from. As it was in the earliest Saxon church, so is the position of this portion of the building at the present day. I have had, during our Congresses, to point out similar evidences in various other old churches; and I believe that it will prove to be so in a great many examples.”

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a collection of letters by the late Rev. J. H. Haigh on Saxon sundials, and on the church at Barnack, contributed by Mr. J. T. Irvine, which will be printed hereafter, it is hoped, in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD FEBRUARY 1886.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. CONGRESS SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the Library:

*To the Society*, for “Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland”, vol. vi. Fourth Series. Oct. 1884

*To Ernest E. Baker, Esq.*, for “A True and most Dreadfull Discourse of a Woman possessed with the Devill, at Dichey in Somersetshire, A.D. 1584.” Weston-super-Mare. 1886. 8vo.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the Congress will commence at Bishop’s Auckland, on 26th July next, under the distinguished presidency of the Lord Bishop of Durham.

Mr. Brock also exhibited a series of late sixteenth century engravings of German and Bavarian cities and towns, showing many curious details of mediæval fortification, town-gates, fortified bridges, and the like.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a considerable collection of fragments of Roman pottery found during excavations for the Grapes Tavern on the site of the Duke of Suffolk’s Palace, opposite St. George’s Church, High Street, Southwark. A series of arches of ancient brickwork of great strength, of sixteenth century date, were also found about 10 ft. below the level of the street, and supposed to have been constructed, owing to the swampy nature of the ground, to carry a portion of the building. No coins were found; but judging from the class of pottery and coins found in close proximity during other excavations, the date of Roman occupation would be from about 60 A.D. to 380 A.D.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., exhibited photographs of two Phœni-

cian inscribed stones in the possession of Mrs. Strickland of Valetta, Malta, by kind permission of Mr. R. B. Smyth of Bergamo-Alta, Italy, who will be glad to allow the Society to reproduce them, if desired.

Mr. Birch also read an account by H. S. Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P., of an ancient top found at the Roman *castrum*, South Shields:

"When my paper on the whirligig or top appeared in the volume of our *Journal* for 1874, I could point to but one existing example of a Roman *turbo*. The one referred to was exhumed near Dover in 1869, and is made of well-fired, buff-coloured terra-cotta, and closely resembles in form the horn gigs of later ages. It may be described as having a conic body terminating in an obtuse conic base, its extreme height being  $2\frac{5}{8}$  ins.

"Our good member, Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields, has lately called my attention to another ancient top, but of different material and *contour* to the foregoing, which he states 'was found by a digger on the site of the Roman station at South Shields, February 1875, just before the systematic exploration of the Camp by the Committee appointed for the purpose.' In form, the specimen in question may be likened to the pointed half of an egg,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height, and the flat top the same in diameter. It is wrought out of a piece of exceedingly hard bone, remindful of that of certain portions of the *trichecus*, the centre showing the cancellated structure. The base is somewhat flattened, but in no way hindering the top from being a good spinner. A remarkable feature to note in this toy is that the broad apex shows indications that it has been painted green, and the body has also been encircled by several narrow green bands, the pigment employed being in all probability the *chrysocola*, or green carbonate of copper, of which a rather confused account is given by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii, 26, 27. The whole surface of the toy exhibits a certain degree of polish, due in a great measure to use, but partly to its long inhumation, for bone objects frequently acquire a gloss by lying in the earth for ages. Everything about this top is suggestive of very considerable antiquity, and coupling its aspect with its place of discovery, there seems no reason why we should not accept it as a veritable Roman *turbo*, thus establishing the fact that the subjects of the Cæsars had tops of bone as well as of box-wood and terra-cotta."



Bone Top.  
Roman Castrum, South Shields.

Mr. Birch opened discussion on the curious succession of toys among the poor of London streets, and asked if there were any means of ascertaining the rules by which the fashion of toys was regulated.

Mr. Walford and Mr. Cope took part in the discussion.

The Rev. Canon Collier sent a series of notes on the remarkable discoveries in the crypt and precincts of Winchester Cathedral. These were read by Mr. Brock. It is hoped that these will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Walford and Mr. Birch took part in the discussion.

The Chairman read the copy of a letter to the Editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1763), relating to Wolstanbury Camp, communicated by Mr. A. Cope.

Mr. Brock exhibited Mr. J. T. Irvine's drawings of Etton Church, co. Northants.

Mr. Birch drew the attention of the meeting to a supposed Roman wall and arch recently disclosed near Fleet Street, London.

Mr. Brock said he thought this is what is described in Archer's *Reliques of Old London*, and of later date than Roman times. The position is east of St. Martin's Church, behind the houses in Old Bailey, the building being a portion of the old wall of the City.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1886.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. CONGRESS SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected:

W. Nichols, Esq., Woodside, South Hill Park, Bromley, Kent

Walter B. Paton, Esq., M.A., 2 Paper Buildings, Temple

Rev. Scott Surtees, M.A., Dimsdale-on-Tees, Durham.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the Library:

*To the Society*, for "The Archæological Journal", No. 168. 1885.

*To the Museum*, for "Geschäfts-bericht welcher in der General-Versammlung der Gesellschaft Museums des Königreiches Böhmen.

17 Jan. 1886. Prag. Verlag des Museums. 8vo.

„ „ for "Památky Archæologické Mistopisné", vol. xiii, Parts

1-3. V Praze, 1885. 4to.

It was announced that the Lord Bishop of Durham had fixed the 26th of July for the opening of the Congress.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a bellarmine of the time of Queen Elizabeth, from Cheapside; an earthenware candlestick, fifteenth or sixteenth century, from London Wall; and a fragment of a flower-vase of the fifteenth century.

The Chairman exhibited the impression of a gem-seal from Malta, sent by Mr. J. Proctor Burroughs, F.S.A., of Great Yarmouth. The design is the head of Æsculapius, with staff and snake, set in gold.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., read a paper on "Burial in Woollen."

Mr. Compton, Mr. Hodgetts, and the Chairman, took part in the discussion which ensued.

A rubbing was exhibited by the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., of Cambridge, of the Saxon sepulchral monument in the church at Whitchurch, Hants. It was first described by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., in *The Builder* of Nov. 11, 1871. The inscription is given in Hübner, *Insc. Brit. Chr.*, No. 165. On the front is a bust of Christ with cruciferous nimbus, holding a book, and giving the benediction. On the back is an elegant piece of scrollwork. Round the semicircular top and edges is the following inscription, in angular Saxon capitals, in two lines:

+ HIC CORPVS FRIDBERGAE REQVI-  
ESCIT IN PACEM SEPVLTVM.

The size of the stone is 1 ft. 10 ins. by 1 ft. 9 ins., and 7 to 10½ ins. thick.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., read a paper on the "Crosses and other Pre-Norman Sculptures at Heysham Church", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

The Rev. Scott Surtees sent some photographs of Heysham Church, to illustrate the paper.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. J. F. Hodgetts, Mr. E. P. L. Brock, Mr. Birch, and Mr. A. Hudd took part.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3, 1886.

G. G. ADAMS, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

H. Phillipps, Esq., 145 Walworth Road, London, S.E., was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following gifts to the Library:

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fifth Series, No. VIII. October 1885.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. vii, Fourth Series, No. 63. July 1885.

" " for "Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology", by J. W. Powell, Director, to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute. 1884.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the arrangements for holding a Congress on the 26th of July next, in the county of Durham, were in a forward state, and that a programme would be issued very shortly.



Mr. Brock exhibited—(1), on behalf of the Rev. Canon Routledge of Canterbury, portion of the volute of a carved Roman altar or column found in St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, with Roman mortar adhering to it; (2), on behalf of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., the rubbing of an interlaced pattern carved on a stone of Saxon date, found at Moulton, Northants; (3), a series of views of churches and edifices in and about the city of London, chiefly of the seventeenth century.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., exhibited—(1), a cow's horn, finely carved with subjects from the Old Testament, and from the Romance of Otivel and King Garsia. The date, 1697, on the base, indicates the late survival of interest in this class of mediæval romances:—(2), on behalf of Mr. J. Blair of South Shields, an interesting and extensive album of archæological sketches, chiefly illustrating the antiquities of the north of England.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "The Divining Rod", by A. C. Fryer, Ph.D., M.A., which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

A paper was read entitled "The Roman Villa at Box, Wilts", by Mr. J. Mann, which was illustrated by a plan. It is hoped that this paper will find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. C. H. Compton drew the attention of the meeting to Mr. J. W. Grover's recent operations at Clapham Church, which had resulted in the recovery of several marble effigies of the Atkins family, and announced that the Burial Board had provided a temporary place of exhibition for the objects.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1886.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. CONGRESS SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected:

Charles D. Turton, Esq., Hon. Foreign Correspondent for the West Coast of Africa

J. Fuller Eberle, Esq., Pembroke Villas, Clifton.

Thanks were ordered to be returned

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", Second Series, vol. x, No. 14.

*To Miss Russell*, for a pamphlet on "The Newton Inscription regarded as being in the Uncial Character mixed with Runic Letters."

*To Mr. C. N. McIntyre North*, for "Archæology and Architecture of Southwark."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following communication from Mr. J. T. Hand:

"In the parish of Langley Burrell, near Chippenham, the Rev. Mr. Daniels recently uncovered in the field (formerly a common) in front of his parsonage house a peculiar mound with lines of raised bands running from it, forming triangles. The centre is pitched with rough limestone surrounded by much larger edge stones, with an opening, due east, pitched for about 10 yards. The lines running from the centre extend a long distance. From the middle of the pitched and enclosed centre the sides, except that facing east, slope to a kind of trench. It is supposed to be of very high antiquity. None of the stones are dressed with any metal instrument, nor are they worn, except by naked feet. Some suppose it to be a sun or snake-worship temple, the centre, where the priest offered his victim, facing the rising sun. Another curious point is that the main radiating lines face the cardinal points."

Mr. Brock exhibited—(1), a sketch by Mr. C. N. McIntyre North, architect, of the arch in the foundation of an old wall on the site of the Duke of Suffolk's Palace, High Street, Southwark; (2), on behalf of Mr. R. E. Way, a fine Delft preserve-jar with red, blue, and yellow ornamentation, and a saucer or dish of the same; (3), a large collection of pieces of "gun-money", 1690; (4), on behalf of Mr. Rendle, a facsimile plan of Southwark, dated 1542; (5), a collection of Skidman's tokens and medals of the old gates of the city of London, 1796-97 (they are dedicated to token collectors, and are not uncommon); (6), a third brass coin of Domitian found in St. Margaret's Churchyard, Southwark.

In the discussion on the tokens, Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., Mr. Wodehouse, Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., and Mr. Brock took part.

Mr. Adams gave a short account of his visit to the church of St. Mary, Clapham, to see the statues of the Atkins family, and described them as of interest, although the art-work was not of the best classical style.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read "Notes on the Legendary Life of St. Nicholas of Myra, in a MS. in the British Museum", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Rabson and Mr. Brock took part in the discussion which ensued.

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# British Archaeological Association.

## FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS, BRIGHTON, 1885,

MONDAY, AUGUST 17TH, TO SATURDAY, THE 22ND, WITH TWO EXTRA DAYS  
TO TUESDAY, THE 25TH INST.

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HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.

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*Hon. Curator, Librarian, and Congress Secretary*—GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

*Hon. Assistant Congress Secretary*—JOHN REYNOLDS, Esq., The Manor House, Redland, Bristol.

## Proceedings of the Congress.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1885.

THE inaugural proceedings took place in the saloon of the Royal Pavilion, at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the members and officers of the Association received a hearty welcome from the Mayor and Corporation of Brighton. The saloon was filled by ladies and gentlemen.

The Mayor (Mr. Alderman E. J. Reeves) said it was his duty to attend there that day to welcome the British Archæological Association, and he need hardly say it was a duty that gave him great pleasure. He had to regret, as they all did, the absence of their President, the Duke of Norfolk ; but Sir James Picton, one of the Vice-Presidents, was present, and he would probably fill, to some extent, the unfortunate vacancy. The Town Council of Brighton had entrusted him (the Mayor) with an address which the Town Clerk would have the honour of reading, and in that address there was an expression of the high gratification it gave the Town Council and the inhabitants of the town at large to receive the Congress members of the Society. He hoped that their visit this week would be one of great pleasure to them all, and that the weather, which affected so much all pleasurable excursions, would be everything that could be desired. He was told that Brighton was not rich in the particular objects which it was their pleasure to study ; but if they lacked in objects of interest of this kind, the people of Brighton would endeavour to make it up by giving the Association as hearty a welcome as any town could possibly do. They felt very proud that this should be the first antiquarian Society to visit the town ; and they hoped, and indeed trusted, that as the visit of the British Association, some few years ago, resulted in a large development of the Museum and Art-Galleries at Brighton, the visit of this Association would result in some development in Brighton of the study which it was their pleasure to pursue. He would now ask the Town Clerk to read the address.

The Town Clerk then read the following address :



*“To His Grace the President and the Members of the British  
Archæological Association.”*

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Brighton, in council assembled, beg to offer you a hearty welcome on your visit to our town for the purpose of holding your Brighton and West Sussex Congress. We have, in past years, been honoured by various large and important scientific, ecclesiastical, social, and other bodies, which have found their meetings in our healthy and health-giving town attended with the greatest success, and we trust that your Association will have an equally satisfactory experience. The fact that you are the first antiquarian Society which has selected our town for its headquarters adds much to our gratification at your visit. The old town of Brighton, owing to the circumstances of its position, has not played so important a part in our national history as other towns, and its historical reminiscences chiefly cluster around two of our monarchs; but we would point out to you that although it is somewhat lacking in mediæval antiquities, it has been populous for centuries; and its free inhabitants, not overawed by any lofty castle, had customs which were ancient in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; whilst our breezy Downs afford for your exploration several camps of the earliest inhabitants of these isles. Our county has been the battleground of British freedom, which, temporarily crushed in the sanguinary fight at Hastings, regained its old splendour in the field of Lewes, and became the foundation of our modern liberties.

“We trust that your researches and explorations in the numerous interesting antiquities in our county may prove prosperous, satisfactory, and agreeable in every way, and that you may be able to look back upon your meeting here as one of the brightest in the annals of your learned Association.

“Given under our corporate seal this 7th day of August 1885.

“EDWARD J. REEVES, Mayor of Brighton.  
“F. J. TILLSTONE, Town Clerk.”

Sir James Picton's address was then read. It has been printed above, at pp. 1-13.

Lord Monkbretton proposed a vote of thanks to Sir James Picton for his address, in which he had so tersely presented to them the antiquarian interests of the county.

Archdeacon Hannah seconded the proposal.

The proposition was carried with applause.

Sir James Picton replied in acknowledgment.

Mr. F. E. Sawyer, F.S.A., then read a paper on “Old Brighton”, which has been printed at pp. 45-56.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., proposed, and Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Sawyer, which was carried unanimously, and the party then quitted the saloon, and proceeded to St. Nicholas Church, where the Ven. Archdeacon Hannah, Vicar of Brighton, delivered a short address on the

architecture and history of the ancient church of St. Nicholas, which ceased to be the parish church of Brighton in 1873, and is now at the head of a flourishing new district parish under the charge of the Rev. J. J. Hannah, M.A.

Setting aside the consideration of a number of unverified traditions, the Archdeacon spoke as follows :

### ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, BRIGHTON.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HANNAH.

It is agreed on all hands that the original of the present structure cannot be dated further back than the middle of the fourteenth century, when Edward III was King, and it was not recast into its present form till the middle of the present century. We have no great story to tell you of this church of St. Nicholas ; but what little we have to say falls within the limits of those five hundred years, from 1350 to 1853, in connection with more recent improvements.

The roof and outer walls having been renewed at the latter period, you see very little of the earlier structure except those five pointed arches on either side, dividing the nave from the aisles ; together with the chancel-arch on the east, and the sturdy old tower on the west. These are the only remaining records which you have to study if you wish to make yourselves masters of the original architectural character of this old parish church of Brighton. As the population of the place began to increase during the eighteenth century, and no attempt was made to extend the church accommodation till the foundation-stone of the Chapel Royal was laid in 1793, a series of strange expedients was adopted for the purpose of supplying comfortable seats, after the manner of the age, for the use of those who were always crowding into this ancient building. Many living persons well remember, what others of you may learn from excellent existing drawings, that the interior was blocked up with wooden structures of all shapes and sizes, till it must have looked as though a second floor had been introduced between the roof and basement, over all the area except the centre. That area, with the chancel, was wholly occupied by great square pews. Galleries were erected over both the aisles, though they were only half their present width. Another gallery was thrust into the south-choir aisle ; another was thrown across the entrance to the chancel, the rood-screen being then placed some little distance farther to the west. A deep gallery, containing the organ, was raised at the tower end of the church. In front of that western gallery sat a row of the children who enjoy the charity founded by

<sup>1</sup> A full and detailed account of this church, by Mr. Somers Clarke, jun., will be found in the thirty-second volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 1882.

the late Mr. Swan Downer, picturesque in their clean white caps and tippets. Opposite to them, over the rood-screen, sat a number of old men representing the fishermen of Brighton. The pulpit stood on the north side, further down the nave, and the font was placed opposite the door of the porch in the centre. Access was gained to the side-galleries by external staircases giving admission to the church through great openings in the roof. People pointed with respect to a pew in the eastern corner of the northern gallery because the Thrales used to bring thither to service the famous Dr. Johnson from their house in West Street. The great Duke of Wellington is said to have worshipped, in his boyhood, in the Vicarage pew in the chancel. Truly an old-world, homelike picture of a real mother church; the sacred refuge, the common hearth, the religious, though not the local, centre of the parish, natives and strangers of all orders and degrees crowding in to occupy every nook and corner, while the weather-beaten grandfathers and fathers in one gallery looked down along the church at the line of their little daughters arrayed in their snow-white raiment at the other.

It is difficult, even with the aid of the drawings which will be shown you in the Vestry and at the Pavilion, to realise the difference between the open, airy church you see, and the crowded, cramped, yet loved and not uncomfortable structure which was choked up in every part, from floor to roof, with this accumulated growth of galleries and pews. We ought to be heartily grateful to the late Mr. Carpenter for the skill with which he restored the church to something better than its original condition, when it was repaired and renewed as a memorial to the Duke of Wellington in 1853. The Wellington monument in the south aisle of the chancel remains to record the special motive by which the late energetic Vicar, Mr. Wagner, succeeded in calling forth the liberality of subscribers. The area of the church was now considerably enlarged, each aisle being widened from 6 or 8 ft. to 15, and the north aisle being extended westward for the whole depth of the tower. The only fault that could be found with this restoration is the darkness which was caused by the reconstruction of the roof and windows,—an evil which is already in course of removal through the opening of new clerestory lights. As it stands, however, you will be ready to recognise it as a good specimen of a legitimate restoration of a plain and serviceable parish church of the Edwardian period; not distinguished by any lofty tower, nor lighted by the breadth of decorated windows, but thoroughly well suited to its purpose as the sacred home for a race of robust seamen and fishermen, and not unworthy of the affectionate reverence which is felt for it by the older members of the community of Brighton, where

“Still the poor folk and the children  
Love the church upon the hill.”

Great further improvements have been introduced since 1853, in the rebuilding of the organ, which had been silenced for years ; in the new decorations of the chancel and the painted windows, and in the provision of more suitable and commodious class-rooms and vestries.

Turning now, for a moment, to the adjuncts of the building. I need not tell you that the font is a great deal older than any portion of the existing fabric. I hope to have the opportunity, at one of our evening meetings, of comparing it, or perhaps I should rather say contrasting it, with a series of other sculptured fonts belonging to about the same period. About, or soon after, the time of the Conquest a large amount of artistic skill was devoted to the carving of fonts, of which the most remarkable examples are to be found in the famous black fonts of Hampshire, in Winchester Cathedral, at East Meon, at St. Mary's Bourne, and at St. Michael's, Southampton. Fonts of similar type are found in Lincoln Cathedral and in a few other English churches, and also, I believe, in the north-eastern French provinces. This round Brighton font of stone, removed or preserved from some earlier building, with its cuttings in deep and rude relief, differs widely from those great square blocks of marble with their rich but shallow sculpture. Reserving details for the evening paper, I will now only ask you to observe for yourselves that there are mouldings of great interest above and below the series of sculptures ; that of the four compartments in which the sculptures are arranged, the eastern clearly represents the Last Supper ; that on the south we find the baptism of Christ with the usual conventional accessories ; that the western side presents us with a remarkable scene from the legend of St. Nicholas ; and that the fourth compartment, looking to the north, contains two figures which still await an adequate explanation, as we cannot feel quite satisfied with the suggestion that they may possibly represent betrothment, or the ordinance of marriage.

To explain briefly the one compartment in which we are more deeply interested, as it is a portion of the legend of the sailors' Saint. The ship which you will observe on the western face of the font is made the scene for two different actions, at the one end and the other. The figure standing outside the stern is the Evil Spirit in disguise, offering to the sailors a fatal gift of destructive power,—a flask of oil, with which they are asked to anoint the church of St. Nicholas at Myra, not knowing that it had the faculty of consuming stone, and being unquenchable by water. At the prow stands St. Nicholas receiving from the sailor the same flask of oil, the character of which he evidently now revealed to them when he bade them cast the Evil Spirit's gift into the sea, and it went blazing away along the surface of the waters.

I must ask you to note for yourselves the beauties of the Perpendicular rood-screen ; and hastening from the oldest to the most recent



of the adjuncts of the church, I wish to call your particular attention, before we separate, to the beautiful and well arranged series of painted windows, now nearly complete, all of which come from the studio of one excellent artist, Mr. C. E. Kempe of Lindfield, the bearer of a name much respected in the town.

I will now leave it to the officers of the church, who join me in offering you a cordial welcome, to give you any further explanations you may wish for on the details of the fabric. They will also point out to you the remarkable position of the vaults beneath the church, the venerable fragment of an ancient cross in the churchyard, and the more noteworthy monuments which stand out from amidst the crowded gravestones of the "city of the dead" around the walls.

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The visitors then inspected drawings of the old church in the Vestry, and examined the font and the stone cross to the south of the church.

At four o'clock a visit was paid to the Brighton Museum, where Mr. Henry Willett, V.P., F.G.S., gave an account of the local antiquities and ceramic ware, assisted by Mr. Benjamin Lomax, Curator.

At the close of Mr. Willett's address, which it is hoped will take the form of a paper hereafter, Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Willett for his description of the collection, and expressed a hope that he would receive assistance in the work he had on hand.

The motion was carried, and the visitors afterwards inspected the Picture Gallery, where, in connection with this visit of the British Archæological Association, Mr. G. De Paris, Mr. Lomax, and the Local Committee had arranged a unique exhibition of Sussex pictures, chiefly by local artists, and selected with special reference to the places to be visited during the Congress.

It is peculiarly fortunate that among the leading artists in the town so many should have turned their attention to works of art so closely allied with the interesting studies of the archæologist. Mr. R. H. Nibbs is not less known by his clever handling of venerable architectural piles than by his sea, river, and harbour scenes. Mr. George De Paris, it need scarcely be said, has made Sussex churches his especial study; while the triad is completed by Mr. J. H. Scott, whose church and street scenes have frequently been displayed at local exhibitions. Mr. R. H. Nibbs contributed water-colours and oils. "Chesworth Grange, Horsham", was a fine water-colour with great depth of colour. The artist depicted the back view of the old building, the front having been modernised, and possessing less charm to lovers of the antique. "Canon Gate, Chichester"; "Old Shoreham Church"; "The Tower of Sompington Church"; "Hamsey Church, with very Ancient Chancel-Arch"; "Old Place, Pulborough"; "St. Mary's



Hall, Chichester"; "Guildhall, Chichester"; and "Consistory Court, Chichester Cathedral", are a few of the exteriors and interiors which commanded attention from their fidelity, rare combinations of light and shade, and bold, vigorous treatment. Two views of Mitchelham Tower were interesting studies. Especially attractive were the artist's "Amberley Castle", "Ancient Bridge at Houghton" (both recently painted), "Ancient Bridge at Pulborough", and "Pevensey Castle". "The South Side-Aisle of Eastbourne Church"; "Ancient Crypt, Eastbourne"; and "North Side-Aisle of Rye Church", were cleverly handled interiors. "Southease Church", "A Staircase at Oat Hall", and "A Gateway at Battle", were also interesting paintings of old subjects. An interior, "At Bramber", formerly the residence of Ann of Cleves, proved attractive, not only from the skill of the painter, but from its historical associations with the second Tudor. Four charming water-colours were, "Westmeston Church Porch"; "Church Street, Steyning"; "Inn-Yard, Steyning"; and "The Presbytery, Chichester Cathedral." Mr. George De Paris had also a large and valuable collection. "Chichester Cathedral from the South-West" was a splendid drawing, replete with warmth of colour and masterly attention to detail. The exterior and interior of Lullington Church were peculiarly interesting, from the fact that the building (only 16 ft. square) is the smallest church in Sussex. "The Ruins of the Archbishop's Palace, Mayfield", was also interesting, the old pile having since been roofed over, and now forming part of a convent. In his best style, Mr. De Paris had sketches of St. Peter's the Less, Chichester; south transept, Alfriston Church; Rye Church, Winchelsea Church, Arundel Church, and Horsham Church. "The Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, with the Tombs of the Norfolk Family", was a very able picture. "Seaford Church" was peculiarly worthy of notice, from the fact that the tower, with its grand specimen of Norman, Transition, and Tudor periods, is destined to be rebuilt owing to its insecure state. "Clymping Church" is also a venerable pile, combining a Norman tower with Early English east front. "Upper Beeding Church" is another old edifice worthy of careful notice. Mr. De Paris had drawings of the three round tower churches in Sussex, viz., those of St. Peter's, Lewes; Piddinghoe; and Southease. Three views of Worth Church also commanded especial attention. "Boxgrove Church" was a cleverly executed picture, while "The old Tombs outside the South-West Chancel of South Harting Church" was excellent. Mr. J. H. Scott had a fine work of art in "New Shoreham Church", rich in tone, and cleverly drawn. "An old House, Henfield", and "Bramber Castle", were charming pieces of water-colour work. Two views of Boxgrove Church and Priory commanded attention; the grand, old edifice and Priory ruins being faithfully depicted, with charming effects of light and shade. Mr. Scott also lent two valuable pictures by

his late father, Mr. W. Scott, viz., "Part of Old Shoreham Church", and "Gateway, Newhurst", fine, old drawings. Mr. F. Earp lent several water-colour drawings (his own), "Interior of New Shoreham Church"; and several by Mr. George Earp, viz., "Interior of Preston Church"; "St. Nicholas Church, Brighton, in 1843"; "Hove Old Church" (two views) in 1838; "Hurst Old Church" and "Monuments in Firle and Preston Churches". The two views of Hove Old Church were gems, while for clever drawing and attention to details that of St. Nicholas Church was admirable. Mr. G. De Paris also lent "Jeake's House, Rye", and "Falmer Church", both by Mr. J. J. Penley; and "Pulborough Church", by R. H. Nibbs. Mrs. P. R. Wilkinson lent "Cowdray House", by Fred Nash; and "Hurstmonceaux Church" and "St. Pancras Church", each by Rayner. Mr. Crawford J. Pocock lent "Bramber" (J. H. Scott); "Lewes in 1774, 1782, and 1783" (Lambert); "Old Town Hall and Market Street, Brighton" (E. Fox), and "St. Nicholas' Church before Restoration" (Nibbs). Mr. G. F. Attree forwarded some interesting pictures, "South View of Brighton, 1743" (Lambert); "St. Nicholas Church, Exterior and Interior" (Mr. J. J. Penley); "Coastguard Station, Rottingdean"; "New Town Hall, Brighton", with "Old Vicarage"; and old tinted lithographs of the Steine and Bathing Station.

The opening dinner took place in the evening, at the Grand Hotel, under the presidency of Sir James Picton, F.S.A., and was largely attended.

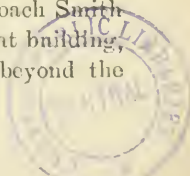
#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1885.

The first place on this day's programme was Chichester. The visitors started punctually, and the Station was reached about twenty minutes past nine o'clock. Upon alighting, the party proceeded to the Museum, situated in South Street, where they were received by the Lord Bishop of Chichester, the Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester, and the Ven. Archdeacon Walker.

After a brief inspection of some of the Roman remains had been made, Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., proceeded to describe the ancient relics. He spoke on their history and antiquity. He said his friends had assigned this task to him, and he should endeavour to achieve what he and others felt had not been done by their predecessors in this field. One of the most important towns in Roman Britain had not received adequate attention. It represented Regnum, the capital of the Regni, who were in very early alliance with the Romans: a fact proved by history, and by an inscription on which he was about to speak. Its position was shown by the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, in which it occurred at the end of a long journey from the north; but

because the distance from the next station, Clausentum, at Bittern, near Southampton, did not agree with the actual mileage, several had placed it at Ringwood, in an opposite direction, where the distance accounted, but where there were no adequate remains. It was possible that the compiler of the *Itinerary* might have indicated the territory of the Regni by the word *Regnum*, and not the capital town; if so, the distance would be correct. There was something to favour this notion in the name *Chichester*. Unlike other large Roman towns, there was in it no element of the Roman name, which probably was *civitas*, or some such word, with the *ci* pronounced as *chi*, for which there was authority. The notion that the Saxon chief called *Cissa* gave name to the town, Mr. Roach Smith said he doubted as being correct; and he gave other examples of the same kind, which would not bear criticism, such as Portsmouth, or its harbour, being so termed from a Saxon called *Port*; the Latin *portus*, centuries older, being the real name of the place.

Mr. Roach Smith then took in detail the Roman inscriptions found in Chichester, the first being the indication of a temple to Neptune and Minerva, now preserved at Goodwood. He said that the inscriptions to Neptune, wherever found, indicated proximity to water; and no doubt one of the chief approaches to Chichester, if not the chief, was by water. The temple was dedicated by a *collegium*, or company of smiths or general artificers, by authority of a British Prince called Cogidubnus, to whom, Tacitus states, the Emperor Claudius gave certain territories in Britain; and that he remained in close friendship with the Romans. The boundary to the north he considered to be indicated by the foss and vallum which run through the parish of Funtingdon, by Goodwood, towards, if not quite up to, Arundel, and also many miles to the west. These *collegia* held with the Romans the same position as the trades' companies of the present day, of which, indeed, they were the archetypes. No more important evidence had been found to show, not only the pacific state of south-eastern Britain under the Romans, but proving also that the Britons preserved their nationality; and this had been confirmed by inscriptions found in the north. As they were about to see the inscription itself, and as Dr. Birch had promised to speak about the last line, which states that one *Pudens* had given the site, he need say no more than this, that he did not believe this *Pudens* had any relation to the Pudens and Claudia of the New Testament, as some had imagined. The next two inscriptions were dedications to Nero and Domitian, and another to the *Genius Loci*, each of which received attention; and lastly, two sepulchral memorials found near the Museum in South Street. Mr. Roach Smith pointed out how the stones had first formed part of a great building, that then they had been used for sepulchral memorials beyond the



south wall, and ultimately that they had again been taken for a public building. In the vicissitudes of Roman towns such transitions had been common. During the present year it had been found that portions of the Wall of London had been composed of sculptured and funereal monuments. Mr. Roach Smith, after referring to other Roman remains in the Museum, suggested that it might be more convenient for Dr. Birch to express his opinions at once on the line containing the name *Pudens*. At the same time, he paid a high tribute to the learning, perseverance, and suavity of Dr. Birch.

The address was extremely well received, and elicited very complimentary remarks from Sir James Picton, Mr. Wright, and others. It will be printed as a paper in a future part of the *Journal*.

Dr. Birch then gave reasons for his belief that he attached no credence whatever to the assertions that the *Pudens* of the inscription was identical with the Pudens of the New Testament; and he was supported by the Dean, and, as understood, by the Bishop also, who with other clergy, was present.

At the suggestion of Mr. Roach Smith excavations had been made by the Association at the base of one of the mediæval bastions opposite the Dean's garden, and the work had been carried out with great success, revealing a very massive, square basement to the bastion. This is of Roman work; thus proving, beyond all question, that the mediæval walls stand on the foundations of the earlier ones. The work is constructed of squared stones of large size; the mortar being formed of red, pounded brick. On the square base had been a semicircular tower of large size, the later one being much smaller. A portion of the foundations of the curtain-wall had also been laid open, and these were visited by the whole party upon leaving the Museum. Mr. G. M. Hills promised a paper on the subject hereafter.

The terraced walk in the grounds of the Deanery, which slope to the top of the old wall, were traversed, and the visitors next proceeded to the Bishop's Palace, an old Norman doorway, preserved in the Theological College House, being pointed out on the way. Here the walks upon the wall were first visited; and after a fragmentary Roman inscription had been inspected, the interior of the Palace was examined under the guidance of the Bishop. Mr. Hills gave an interesting description of the architectural features of the building whilst the party assembled in the dining-hall, drawing special attention to the famous painted ceiling and to the restorations carried out by the Bishop. The old kitchen, which is of large proportions, was viewed with interest; and a visit was also made to the chapel, which contains some fine old relics of the past.

The Cathedral was then visited, the party entering by the west door on quitting the Palace.



Mr. Gordon M. Hills gave a lengthy and very interesting lecture in the sacred edifice on its history and architectural peculiarities. He said, although Chichester Cathedral was said to be very bare, so far as tombs were concerned, he could find tombs for every Bishop of the see, or could tell what had become of the Bishop when he died.

Mr. C. Roach Smith then resumed his post as guide to the walls from the West Gate, round the entire circuit, to a well-preserved bastion in the south-east wall, discovered by himself and Mr. John Harris a few years since.

After luncheon a visit was paid to Boxgrove Priory Church, where Mr. C. Lynam read a paper which has been already printed at pp. 68-75.

At the close of the paper Mr. Lynam was thanked for his valuable contribution, and a vote of thanks was also accorded to the Rev. W. Barnett, the Vicar, who in reply said it gave him great pleasure to receive the Association. The church, naturally, was a subject of great interest to him. He had been there for many years, and had seen some great changes in its form; but his desire had always been to make the sacred edifice stand for many more ages, and he hoped the efforts made would meet with success.

A short time having been spent in viewing the Priory ruins from different points, the party proceeded to Goodwood Park, the seat of His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon. The whole of the lower suite of apartments were inspected, the splendid paintings and tapestries being greatly admired; and afterwards Dr. S. Birch, F.S.A., commented on the well-known Roman inscribed stone which occupies such a high place of honour in the grounds, and which was alluded to, as will be seen above, during the visit to the Chichester Museum.

By the time the tour of inspection at this mansion was completed, the afternoon had well advanced, and the road was once again taken for Chichester, *en route* for Brighton.

At half-past eight a public meeting was held in the King's apartments, Royal Pavilion. Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, presided.

The Chairman said it was with great pleasure the members commenced their proceedings in Sussex that day in real earnest; yet, notwithstanding Monday, the opening day of the Congress, had been given up to entertainments and introductions to a number of gentlemen in the town and country, which conduced so much to good feeling in gatherings of that kind, and furthered the objects of the Association, they did some very good work on that day. He mentioned the names of Archdeacon Hannah, Mr. Willett, Mr. Sawyer, and Mr. Lomax, the learned Curator of the Museum; and he mentioned them amongst other names in the locality because they set



to work at once, bringing them into the midst of their labours, and took them to that Museum, which certainly was an ornament to Brighton; rendering, as it did, credit to the Mayor and gentlemen who were concerned in the collection of such a large number of antiquities, and in the possession of such a fine library. They were very much gratified with the Roman antiquities, which afforded ample evidence of the occupation of the county by the Romans. He might allude to the specimens found at Portslade and on the Ditchling and Lewes Roads. He was particularly struck with the collections of Roman coins of the third brass, which were found near Eastbourne. They were remarkable as covering a very small space of time, from A.D. 253 to 275. He referred to the collection, for which the Museum was celebrated, of flint instruments from Cissbury and Scandinavia, all of which were much commented upon by Mr. Willett. He was very glad to have the opportunity of studying the connection between the different stone instruments, for their Society had endeavoured to bridge over the great space of time which existed between the stone age and the historical age, and he was very glad to see that antiquaries of the stone age had in late years moved in the same direction. He referred to the collection of pictures, and said they were very much indebted to those gentlemen who had given themselves the trouble of collecting pictures of the places they would visit in their perambulations; pictures of the churches, cathedrals, and homesteads, and Tudor as well as the other mansions for which the county was celebrated. It had given a good zest at the commencement of their travels, and he was sure the Society greatly appreciated it. In conclusion the speaker referred to the wonderful and unique font of St. Nicholas Church, which he said was eloquently and feelingly described by the Ven. Archdeacon Hannah. He was glad to hear that in the evening they were likely to have a further illustration of the same subject by the same learned gentleman, together with illustrations of some of the earlier fonts in Sussex. He then referred to the principal objects of antiquity which had been visited during the day, after which the following account was given of the explorations of Cissbury by Mr. Ernest Henry Willett, F.S.A.

Mr. Willett said he had not prepared a paper, but he hoped to give a slight *résumé* of the work that had been done at Cissbury, the ancient British encampment they were about to visit on the morrow. It differed from a great many of the ancient British earthworks, and was one of the most important from its having been a centre (and a very large centre) of implement-manufacture. Here flint was found in the softened state in which it could be worked. At a certain depth from the surface it was found in very fine quality; and it was undeniable, from the extent of the galleries, that the shafts had been excavated for

the purpose of getting flint. Nothing had been done recently at Cissbury, the excavations having been begun in 1873, and finished in 1878, and therefore they must excuse him if he repeated that which had already been said. He then proceeded to read extracts from articles written by General Pitt-Rivers, himself, and others, on the subject. In 1868, Colonel (now General) A. Lane-Fox, F.S.A., wrote a paper on the Sussex hill-forts, and on the principles of castrametation, which a most careful examination of the whole series led him to conclude had been adopted by the tribes who had constructed them. In the course of his inquiry, and in the description of the seventeen earthworks that lined the Sussex Downs, he mentioned the occurrence in several places of various pits in and about the camps. The instances were at Wolstanbury, Highdown Hill, Mount Caburn, and Cissbury; most notably the latter. This paper was shortly followed by another giving a detailed account of the extensive excavations carried on by him at Highdown and at Cissbury. In this communication he dwelt at length on the pits situate within the latter camp, their character and contents; the flint implements especially were elaborately classified, and fully described by him. The examination of about thirty pits resulted in the information being gained that they were from 20 to 70 ft. wide, and of a depth of from 5 to 7 ft. below the surface; that they contained a great quantity of flint implements, a few bones, dead land-shells, charcoal, and fragments of coarse pottery, distributed in layers of red clay and chalk-rubble, the pottery being only found immediately beneath the turf. In considering the object and use of these pits, General Lane-Fox stated that he believed them to have been for the purpose of obtaining flint for manufacturing implements, and subsequently to have been used for habitation; and he (Mr. Willett) could add confirmatory evidence of both these theories. On the side of one of the pits at Cissbury it appeared that there were some scratchings which Mr. Park Harrison had tried to make people think were inscriptions; but General Pitt-Rivers said, according to that the civilisation of the early Britons must have been more forward than is generally supposed, as it was popularly considered that the Britons were not able to write in those times.

A few remarks were offered on the matter by Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A.; the Chairman, and others; and thanks were accorded by acclamation to Mr. Willett for his lecture.

This was followed by a paper by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, on "Peculiarities of Sussex Churches", which has been printed above, at pp. 35-44.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1885.

To-day, the first point, Lancing, was reached about half-past nine o'clock. Conveyances were in readiness, under the charge of Mr. W. Ling of Brighton, and a pleasant drive took the members to the ivy-clad church at Sompting. The church is one of the most remarkable in the county, and repays examination, being one of the remaining examples of Anglo-Saxon architecture, of which some vestiges appear in the foundations of the wall of the east end as well as in the tower.

Mr. Brock said this was one of the churches to which he referred the previous evening in his paper on Sussex churches. He ventured to say that they might go all through England and not find another Saxon tower possessing its original roof. He was well aware that the covering had been renewed more than once, and it might be that none of the actual woodwork of Saxon times remained in the roof; but any one looking at the tower must come to the conclusion that the four pointed gables which supported the spire were original, and therefore it followed that the spire must have been of that form from the commencement; and this was very remarkable, because there was no other example in England even, of this design, of a later date. On examination it would strike every one who knew the churches along the course of the Rhine, that it was of a type common to foreign churches of any antiquity. The dates of many of those in Germany were fairly well known to German antiquaries; but they were later, in the eleventh century, than this might be supposed to be; therefore it raised a question as to where the type of this tower originally came from, because they found it in England earlier than it was found in Germany itself; but he concluded that it was a type of design very common when this tower was erected, and that the Saxons of England and Germany were well aware of it.

After Mr. Brock had described the details of the tower, the sacred edifice was, by kind permission of the Vicar, entered, and a Norman doorway, a Norman window, and several important particulars pointed out.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills said when a proposal was made to restore the church, a set of plans were prepared, and submitted to the Incorporated Society of London, with a request for a grant; but they were so horrified with the proposals to remove the Perpendicular windows, and insert Norman windows from the imagination of the gentleman furnishing the drawing, that they declared they would be no party to the restoration unless more competent advice was taken. It was then that he had the pleasure of accompanying Mr. Carpenter there, and a most extensive examination was made.

The Rev. R. Edgar Williams, the Vicar, expressed a debt of gratitude to the members of the Association for paying him a visit. He said he was glad to gain such a large amount of information with reference to the church, for although he was only recently appointed to it, he already had a great attachment for it.

The carriages were again entered by the party, and Broadwater Church was reached. This large, cross-church has a nave with north and south aisles and north porch, central tower with north and south transepts, and chancel. The general character is that prevailing throughout the district, viz., Transition Norman, though the richly carved east and west tower-arches may be rather earlier.

Mr. Brock remarked that if an archæologist desired to find a church in Sussex entirely of one age and date, he would be disappointed. He was, however, glad of this, because if there was one thing more than another which added a charm to an ancient church, it was the ability to unravel the periods of its enlargements and alterations, which combined so many epochs in the history of the parish. In Saxon times Broadwater was a place of some importance, and the existence of such a large church indicated that the parish must have retained its ancient importance to our own days, because it was a parish church rather than a monastic one; large as it might seem, and curious as were its arrangements. The original plan exemplified very much what he said the previous night with regard to the use of the central tower in early times, with the chancel to the east, and the nave to the west. He expected, originally, there was no north transept, and he was not sure whether there was a south transept. He said this because under the tower was a part of a Norman window very much older than the arch beneath it. He expected the transepts were added in order to complete the cross-form. Speaking of the arches under the tower, he said they were among the most beautiful they would see in Sussex. Whether the west arch was originally semicircular or not, and was pointed afterwards, he was unable to say. It probably was so. Next came, in order of date, the chancel; and much as the members might admire its pretty vaulting, with the clustered shafts which supported it, the fatal desire to have things uniform in churches had led to the recent removal of windows of a date later by fifty years than the vaulting. Most important history was obliterated by the desire to have everything of a uniform character, and much havoc and destruction had been worked in this way. He pointed out the corbels which originally supported the rood-loft, and after referring to further details, said the party were greatly indebted to the clergyman of the parish for his courtesy in allowing them to inspect the church.

Sir James Picton followed, and said he believed the church was originally a long building from end to end, with the tower in the centre.



Many had, no doubt, seen Iffley Church, near Oxford, and he thought that was like the original church built at Broadwater. Alluding to the differences in the arches under the tower, he said he expected they were both semicircular; and that finding they were both getting out of shape, one was allowed to remain, and the stones were taken out of the other and rebuilt in a pointed arch, as the decorative portions near to the keystone showed they had been patched up to make them fit into their positions.

The famous Roman encampment at Cissbury was the next spot visited. Many of the party quitted the carriages soon after passing Broadwater Common, and walked over the Downs, from which a splendid view of the coast can be obtained; whilst others kept to the road as far as possible, and then ascended the hill on the western side.

Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., and Mr. Ernest Willett, F.S.A., commented upon the encampment; the former speaking at some length, and explaining the way in which flints were prepared for spear-heads and other ancient instruments of warfare. Several very fine specimens were produced, the best being exhibited by Lieut.-Colonel Wisden, J.P., the occupier of the land. One or two good finds were made, and altogether the rather extended visit was rendered most interesting.

Descending the hill on the western side, the party proceeded to Findon, where lunch was partaken of at the Gun Inn. The church here is approached by a lych-gate.

Sir James Picton told his hearers it was very difficult to say anything about the church, for everything was so extremely renovated and renewed with modern work that it was impossible to tell which was old and which was new. It appeared to him that the church originally consisted of the nave and chancel, which were in accordance with the Norman period; and that afterwards, when an aisle was added, there was a double roof. The roof which now covered the whole was, no doubt, of later date, as a properly single constructed roof would not require the middle wall to support it. Before concluding, he called attention to several details, and much attention was bestowed upon an unusually large Norman horseshoe-arch with a roundle over the opening in the centre.

Clapham Church was reached after another drive, but in consequence of the late hour only a brief stay was made. This edifice, which was restored about twelve years since, is probably a Norman church, and in its main features is of the Early English type. The Rev. Mr. Barwell read a short description furnished by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, who had charge of the restorative work, and was warmly thanked for his courtesy.

West Tarring Church was the last halting-place. The party proceeded by way of Salvington, where a glance of the house in which



John Selden, the historian, was born, was obtained. A few minutes only could be spared for the inspection of the church; but Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock gave particulars with regard to its date and construction, pointing out the clerestory, which is unusual in churches in Sussex, and the marble mosaics of modern insertion.

The return to Brighton was made *viâ* Worthing.

At the evening meeting Mr. Thos. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, again occupied the chair, and in opening the meeting remarked that those who had been out that day with the Association would agree with him that it had been most interesting. He would not detain them by giving them an account of what they had seen; but he might mention that they had had the privilege of viewing some of the most interesting churches, perhaps, not only in Sussex, but in the whole of England. To Sompting Church, and also to the most interesting edifice at Broadwater, he referred particularly. However, it was not for him to enter into details; but he could not help saying how profitable had been their survey of the great camp at Cissbury, which was more like a village than a camp, so extensive was it. The encampment was exceedingly well explained by Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., and by Mr. Ernest Willett, F.S.A., the latter gentleman taking great pains to point out the parts described so ably by him at their meeting the previous evening. Without delay he would now call upon Dr. Hannah to read his paper on the "Font of St. Nicholas' Church."

Archdeacon Hannah then read his paper (printed at pp. 26-34).

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. J. Brown, Q.C., and Mr. W. Winekley, F.S.A., took part.

Archdeacon Hannah read a letter from the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., F.S.A., of Cambridge University, explaining a rubbing of a font at Grimston, Yorkshire, which was suspended on the wall of the room. The letter stated: "The twelve Apostles are there, and Judas must be found in one of the two crowded in at the end of the table, on Our Lord's right, or in the second figure on Our Lord's left, which is the only one of whose hands you do not see both. Observe the top of the left arm of Our Lord's chair, and the footstool, also the unused knife and the uncut cake. The dishes will recall your Brighton font dishes. The fish have their species marked by the two dorsal fins, clearly shown in every case. The drinking-vessels deserve attention and comparison with those on the Brighton table. Why two of the Apostles are cut short below, and made to have a raised ground-line, I cannot see. The crucifixion is, I am assured, unique in its details. In the Virgin Mary and St. John taking down the body, notice that the Virgin props her left elbow with her right hand, and her right elbow on her hip. There is a Murillo at Seville, 'Jesus on the Cross', embracing St. Francis, where the hands of St. Francis are placed very much indeed as St.

John's are; but he is on the other side, and the right arm of Our Lord hangs down, as here, and embraces St. Francis' shoulder. Finally there is the patron Saint of the church, a very fine figure. Notice his stole, with the square, fringed ends. Study him well, as in private duty bound, and all respect to him, for there is the *bonne bouche*,—he is St. Nicholas." After this, no apology for the presence of the Grimston font is needed.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, said the Ven. Archdeacon Hannah had made some allusions to some sculpture now let into the south wall of the south aisle of the choir at Chichester. They all had the opportunity of inspecting them during their visit the previous day. He believed the Ven. Archdeacon said he thought they might have been removed from the Cathedral at Selsea, when it was denuded of its ecclesiastical *status*, to Chichester. The date of these sculptures seemed to him to throw them more into the commencement of the twelfth century than the end of the eleventh, as the year 1080 or 1075 was that when Chichester was first established. Judging from the pictures one saw in MSS. of the twelfth century, these sculptures appeared to represent exactly the style of art which was found in MSS. illustrated with pictures of that time. The softness of the stone of which they were composed seemed to point to this, viz., that some steps should be taken towards the preservation of them from the fingers of those who visited them; and he should certainly recommend a glass front to be put in, as had been done in the case of the Assyrian bas-reliefs at the British Museum. If this were done, they would last for a far longer time than in their present condition. There was some mistake in the present arrangement of the sculptures, for it appeared as if there were two Lazaruses in the second sculpture instead of one. In accepting Archdeacon Hannah's description of the Brighton font (and he thanked him heartily for it, and hoped it would be printed in their *Journal*), he did not feel altogether convinced as to the small panel which had been explained as a ceremony of marriage. He would ask why it should be attributed to the endowment of the bride with the whole worldly goods of the bridegroom. Although on the day of the marriage she was, no doubt, endowed with the whole of the property of the bridegroom, that was entirely an ecclesiastical notion of the rights of the bride in the property of the bridegroom; and she found, when she became a widow, she could only take a third of it. He would like to ask the Ven. Archdeacon when that formula of endowment came into the Church services. Did it come in at the date they must attribute to the font, some time in the twelfth century? If it did not, the whole thing fell to the ground. It seemed to him marriage would have been represented in a more conventional way. They had the conventional Lord's Supper, the baptism of Our Lord, and the miracle in the ship.

But they had not the conventional representation of marriage, where they undoubtedly would have an ecclesiastical person presiding over the marriage, with the two parties being married ; which occurred frequently, he believed, in art as well. He accepted with some difficulty and reservation the explanation which had been offered, and thought the solution of the subject would be found in the careful study of the life of St. Nicholas. The study of that Saint's life had already yielded a solution in the case of the ship. He thought if the Ven. Archdeacon Hannah would study the life of St. Nicholas in the *Acta Sanctorum* for the Saint's day, he would find some reference to a portion of the life of the Saint which would be elucidated by that sculpture.

After a few remarks from the Chairman, Mr. J. Brown, Q.C., said he would like to confirm Mr. Birch's remarks, as far as he could, with reference to the marriage picture. It was quite certain that up to the twelfth century there was no endowment of the wife with the worldly goods of the husband. The worldly goods then referred to the land, what we now call "chattels" being worth nothing. He agreed with Mr. Birch in thinking it very unlikely that the two figures referred to the marriage ceremony. Had the saint been St. Valentine, and not St. Nicholas, he would have had nothing more to say on the matter.

The Ven. Archdeacon Hannah, on being called upon to reply, said he quite agreed with the suggestions made as to the so-called Selsea sculptures. They were in a state of such good preservation, considering the comparative softness of the material, that they had evidently been closed up at some time, perhaps when the Parliamentary forces were making themselves so happy in Chichester, banging the organ to pieces, and so on. They were very archaic, and might have been removed from Selsea ; and he mentioned them as an instance of the facility with which articles could be removed from one church to another. He sympathised with Mr. Birch's remarks as to the mode in which the preservation of the sculptures might be extended over a longer time, but was powerless to carry those suggestions into effect. The proper persons to whom those admirable remarks should have been addressed were the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, whom they had visited the previous day. With regard to the suggested marriage-scene, it had been made by some to refer to some portion of the worship of the false Diana, which filled so large a place in the legends of St. Nicholas, in *The Golden Legend*, and other works. He had studied all the St. Nicholas legends with as much care as possible, but he could not discover a single one in which there would be the precise figures shown in this particular representation. If compelled to go into the matter a little more fully, he should not like to be so fanciful as to say St. Nicholas had more to do with marriage than St. Valentine, because the whole story of St. Nicholas turned round the endowment by him of the three

maidens with purses in his youth, showing him to be a sort of patron saint to those in distress. Then, again, there was the curious object that the bridegroom held in his hand. This might be a purse; and, indeed, in the St. Nicholas legend, the purse played an important part. It was possible, therefore, that the bride might have handed back this purse to her intended husband, and he might be simply holding it. That, however, he could not tell them. Coming to the head-dress, if they could have discovered anything in the shape of crowns, they should have been truly rejoiced, because the crowns played an exceedingly important part in the old marriage ceremonies; but the ball on the head of the woman was distinctly not a crown. It might be the hair gathered together in a form usual as part of the ceremony; but he could not tell, and should decline to say. He had merely repeated the suggestion he had given in his paper, because it offered, or appeared to offer, a solution of the matter. If they could offer a better solution he should be pleased to hear it. Mr. Birch had stated his objections to the theory that he (the speaker) had raised; but had not been kind enough to suggest a better solution. He (Mr. Birch) considerably referred them to a sixty-four volume work, and advised them to hunt through that for something like the figures in question.

The Chairman said he was sure that by acclamation they would accord their best thanks to the Ven. Archdeacon Hannah for his lucid descriptions of these fonts. He had given them descriptions not only of his own font, as he might call it, but also of others, notably that at Winchester, which was visited by so many people; and after the description they had that evening heard, they should understand a great deal more about fonts than before. Their very best thanks were due to Archdeacon Hannah for his paper.

The Ven. Archdeacon Hannah said, of course they would accord their thanks to his friend, the Rev. G. F. Browne, for his kindness in sending the drawing from Yorkshire, which had added to the interest of their consideration of the subject.

Dr. S. Birch, F.S.A., then read a paper on "The Coins of the Britons in Sussex", which was illustrated by a fine collection of British gold coins found in Sussex, lent by Mr. E. Willett. The paper has been already printed at pp. 14-20.

At the conclusion of Dr. Birch's paper, Mr. Willett addressed a few remarks to the meeting, saying there was a hoard of coins of the Iceni found at Battle some few years ago; and it would appear that the names Verica and Viri, which appeared upon the coins, were similar.

A further short discussion ensued, in which Mr. J. Brown, Q.C., Mr. Willett, and Dr. Birch took part. The Chairman then said he was sure the meeting would all agree with him in expressing their warmest thanks to the gentlemen who had read the papers, and those who had taken part in the discussions; after which the meeting terminated.



## Obituary.

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### LORD WAVENEY.

THE Right Hon. Robert Alexander Shafto Adair, Baron Waveney, of South Elmham, Suffolk, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and a Baronet, and F.R.S., who died last month, was, says *The Times*, "the eldest son of the late Sir Robert Shafto Adair, first Baronet, of Flixton Hall, Suffolk, by his marriage with Elizabeth Maria, daughter of the Rev. James Strode of Berkhamstead, Herts., and was born in August 1811. He was a magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Suffolk, and Lord-Lieutenant of County Antrim, and served as High Sheriff of the latter county in 1853. He was also a magistrate for Norfolk, and Chairman of the Ipswich Quarter Sessions. He sat in the House of Commons, in the Liberal interest, as Member for Cambridge, from 1847 to 1852, and again from 1854 to 1857. He was raised to the peerage in 1873. Lord Waveney was Hon. Colonel of the 4th Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles; Hon. Colonel of the 3rd Brigade, Eastern Division, Royal Artillery; and a Militia Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty. He married, in 1836, Theodosia, eldest daughter of the late General the Hon. Robert Meade, but was left a widower in 1871. In default of issue, the barony becomes extinct; but the baronetcy devolves upon his brother, Mr. Hugh Edward Adair, formerly M.P. for Ipswich, who was born in 1815, and married, in 1856, his cousin, Harriet Camilla, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Alexander Adair of Heatherton Park, Somerset. His high personal character, moderation, wisdom, and conciliatory disposition, gave him considerable influence in Ulster." His genial presidency, and kindly reception of the Association at Yarmouth and Norwich in 1879, will be fresh in the minds of many of us.

### MR. JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A.,

Died in January, aged eighty-three, a gentleman who was formerly in business in Liverpool as a goldsmith, but who was well known as a collector of antiquities, and as the donor of valuable gifts to the Corporation Museum of Liverpool. "He was", says *The Times*, "a native of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, and settled in Liverpool, where he commenced business as a silversmith and jeweller. While still pursuing his business with energy and success, he devoted his leisure and his fortune to the gathering of antique coins and gems. He attained great skill as a numismatist, and the first collection which he made (one of ancient Greek coins) he sold to the French Government



in 1844. Afterwards he devoted his whole efforts to the gathering of specimens of Egyptian, Roman, and Etruscan art, of ivory carvings and Wedgwood ware. These antiquities were originally located in a house in Colquitt Street, Liverpool, and were thrown open to the public inspection; but when the Free Library and Museum were built by the late Sir William Brown, Mr. Mayer made a gift of his collection to the Corporation of Liverpool. It had cost him over £20,000 in money, and years of diligent research; and the Mayer Collection now forms one of the most valuable and instructive sections of the Museum. In consideration of this munificent gift, Mr. Mayer's statue, by Fontana, was placed in St. George's Hall. He was also a prolific and authoritative writer on the subjects of his study; his books on coins, Egyptian antiquities, and pottery being of high reputation. In the conduct of his own business as a silversmith he was also enterprising, and his name is associated with the introduction of electro-plating. The inventor of that process, Mr. Thomas Spencer, was assisted by Mr. Mayer in his early experiments; and the first article ever successfully treated by this process, an electro-plated spoon, is included in the Mayer Collection. He built in Liverpool a free library, which he stocked with 20,000 volumes of books, and also laid out a park for the use of the people. Some years ago he retired from business, and spent his life in quiet, unostentatious efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people by elevating their tastes, and providing rational recreations for them."

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The late Dr. S. Birch.*—Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum, has just published a volume of *Biographical Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Birch*, with three portraits, and a bibliographical list of his principal works. It may be obtained of Mr. Birch or of the publishers, Messrs. Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. Price 3s.

*Roman Money in China.*—*The Times* of January 28 says: "*The North China Herald* reports that in the neighbourhood of Sin Ganfar, the old capital of the province of Shan-si, a quantity of old Roman money has been found. Dr. Bashall, physician to the English Legation, declares that sixteen of the coins belong to the reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. Two of them bear the effigies of the Empress Faustina and of Commodus, and one of Aurelian. This would seem to confirm Dr. Harth's

theory, which he advocates in his lately published work, *China and the Roman Orient*, that there was a regular commercial intercourse between China and the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, known to the Chinese as Ta-tsin. Dr. Harth founds his views altogether on Chinese sources and old records.

A few copies of the *Illustrated Report on Excavations made on the Site of the Roman Castrum at Lymne, in Kent*, having been found at the printers', they are offered at the original price, 6s. 6d. It forms a Supplement to *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, of which four copies only remain in the hands of the author, price £1 1s. each. There are also six copies of the *Illustrations of Roman London*, with three extra Plates, at £2 12s. 6d. each. Application should be made to the author, C. R. Smith, at Temple Place, Strood, Kent.

*Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst.*—The Rev. G. Butterworth, Vicar of Deerhurst, has obtained permission of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the building to be put in thorough repair by a local committee of Gloucestershire gentlemen. The Tudor timbered house on the east will remain, and set off the ancient chapel; but it is hoped that the building on the west, with the wing of stables and outhouses at right angles, will be cleared away, so as to leave a good space between them and the angle of the chapel.

*Liturgies and Offices of the Church for the Use of English Readers, with a Catalogue of the Remains of the Library of Archbishop Cranmer.* By E. BURBIDGE, M.A., Rector of Backwell, Somerset. (London: G. Bell and Sons.)—In this work the principal object has been to indicate and advance the study of the original sources of Church Services, the earliest forms of Christian worship in the Eastern and Western Churches, and their development in mediæval service-books. This prolific subject possesses, apart from its religious aspect, much interest for the archaeologist and ecclesiastical antiquary, who may by the perusal of the work obtain a better knowledge of the dates and aims of the numerous relics and objects of Church use so frequently laid on our table at evening meetings. To the student of manuscript service-books, in which very nearly all the fine arts of illumination and drawing were enwrapped for several centuries, a general knowledge of the subjects treated so exhaustively in the work before us is indispensable; and it may, indeed, be said that without some such knowledge of the services of the Church as is hereby afforded, it would be impossible to comprehend the causes that have led as well to the construction of the cathedrals and monastic and parochial churches, which have furnished all Societies like our own with so rich a branch of archaeological research, as to

the production of so many MSS. A few years ago, for example, the controversy which centred round the Athanasian Creed was practically decided by the paleographers, and the occurrence of a very early text of that Creed in a Psalter formerly in the Cottonian Library emphasised the importance of studying Liturgical MSS. Again, the recent acquisition of a typical set of ancient Mozarabic service-books by the British Museum has enabled the author to record some interesting points. Hence the value of the work, which is compendiously and lucidly arranged, and by its modest dimensions not likely to dishearten the reader with the immensity of the subject; and Mr. Burbidge may be congratulated for having so successfully carried out a literary labour in which, to a material degree, he is a pioneer.

The part taken by Cranmer in the revision of our English services naturally explains the interest shown by the author in investigating the formation of the Archbishop's library, which was very representative in its day; and its existence in a scattered form, at the present time, has been carefully traced. Not long ago our Associate, Mr. W. Wilding, of Montgomery, gave us an account of the library of the Herberts, which proved attractive to many outside the range of our Association as well as to our own members. In the same way an account of the library of a man who played a vitally important part in the development of the Church of England deserves the attention of us all.

*New Series of County Histories*: (1), *A History of Norfolk*, by WALTER RYE; 1885. (2), *A History of Devonshire*, by R. N. WORTH, F.G.S., etc.; 1886. (London: E. Stock.)—The age of ponderous folio county histories seems to have entirely passed away, and although the surviving copies of these great books command high prices, no one has ever dreamed of reprinting them as they are, or of producing new histories to match them; but the increased desire for knowledge, which marks these concluding years of the nineteenth century, has created a demand for a lighter class of county history, which has been in the two volumes before us admirably carried out. They form readable and, in the main, trustworthy and comprehensive descriptions of the respective counties of which they undertake to treat; and at the same time in no way prevent or supersede the information, both topographical and genealogical, which is contained in the works on which they are founded. From their size it is manifest that they are not exhaustive; but there is contained in them a vast amount of information, much of which cannot fail to be new and attractive even to the veteran admirer of the old-fashioned folios and quartos. The publisher, in his prospectus, very justly remarks that—

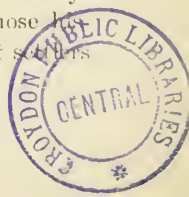
“The interest which English readers have always taken in the in-

ternal history of their own country is well known, and is evidence of a healthy desire to obtain knowledge concerning their own land and its condition and progress in bygone times. This eagerness has been evidenced at intervals by the successful publication of local and county histories of greater or less excellence from early times to the present day. The history of any one county, beyond its more direct relation with the national life, is full of important elements peculiar to itself, which go to make up the great story of our native land. Not only is there a special value in such chronicles for those who live in the county, and who are more or less personally concerned in its story, but all who take an interest in our country's history, from a student's standpoint, must welcome them with gladness.

"It is now intended to supply a requirement which has long been felt, for a series of popularly written but readable histories of the counties of England,—a series of handy volumes which shall be something more than a passing Guide; such a record as will obtain a ready welcome in the cultivated English home by reason of its attractive readableness, and yet one in which the antiquary, historian, and student will find valuable and perhaps little known information.

"Each volume will be written by a competent historian, whose knowledge of the locality, by residence and study, and whose intimate acquaintance with his subject, enable him to write authoritatively on the district whose story he records. All those special features which go to make local history peculiarly valuable and attractive will be found in this series, such as the state of the county in the Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman times; its antiquities, customs, social peculiarities, folk-lore, dialects, the prominent part it has played in the history of England at various periods, the personal record of the noble and illustrious sons and daughters of the district, its notable churches, secular buildings, historical seats and mansions, and its natural features. In a word, the history of each county, while taking its place as a single volume in the national history, will be treated as a complete historic narrative of its own district."

Mr. Rye, who has written the *History of Norfolk*, has handled his subject with care and intelligence. It is, perhaps, in the part which relates to the early history that he is seen to be weak; and although we may give a general assent to his deductions as to the Danish colonisation of Norfolk before Roman times, much of what he says as to the parallelism of place-names of Norfolk and Denmark is misleading. Original place-names roughly divide themselves into two classes: the one signifying local peculiarities of scenery, position, geology, or vegetation, as, for example, Norton, Cromer, Wells, etc.; the other embodying the name of a deity, a hero, a headsman, and so forth, whose history and *cultus* especially recommended themselves to the first settlers.





on the site. Looked at in this light, for instance, the apparent connection between *Brandeston* (Norf.) and *Braendesgaard* (Denm.) disappears; for the *Brand* who furnished the eponym for the Norfolk village stands far apart, no doubt, from the *Braend* in whose honour the Danish village was named, although probably both these mythic personages derived their names from a Scandinavian hero of the earliest period of pagan history.

With much of Mr. Rye's criticism of Kemble's investigation of the "mark" we must disagree; but we are not disposed to be too critical where there is so much to admire. The chapters which treat of the manners and customs of the inhabitants and the folk-lore are of the highest interest, and students in this comparatively new branch of archæology will be highly grateful to Mr. Rye. If we may suggest an omission, which may easily be remedied in any future edition (and in the future volumes of this useful series of works), it is that a chapter should be devoted to an enumeration of the principal topographical literature and of the genealogical collections bearing on each county. The late Mr. Dawson Turner's magnificent series of Blomefield's *History*, enriched with hundreds of extra plates and views, in the British Museum, and the large number of *Heraldic Visitations* and *Collectanea* in the same Library, ought to have been discussed, to some extent at least, in this volume.

Mr. Worth's *Devonshire* is also a carefully written volume; and the system of grouping round well known centres rather than taking places alphabetically, or in order of antiquity, has much to recommend itself to the historian of a county when his space is circumscribed. The early history of Devonshire has an importance to the student of palæolithic man and the barrow-builders which is second to none in England. To Roman, Saxon, Norman, and mediæval history Devonshire contributes deductions and examples of interest which cannot be surpassed elsewhere; and we can only say that Mr. Worth is quite as much at home with his ancient evidences as with the mediæval and more modern phases of county life and history of which he has written. The work labours under the need of a county bibliography, and a guide to other sources of information, to which those whose interest has been aroused, and only partially satisfied, may turn for further information. A good county map might have been introduced with advantage into each of these two volumes.

*The Official Baronage of England, showing the Succession, Dignities, and Offices of every Peer from 1066 to 1885, with 1,600 Illustrations.* By JAMES E. DOYLE. 3 vols., 4to. (Longmans; 1886.)—This work goes far beyond all so-called *Peerages* hitherto published, by reason of the very great amount of new and important historical information



which has been gathered from some source never yet drawn upon in a systematic manner. The tabulated method in which that information is presented to the reader forms a new departure in this class of antiquarian literature, and the reference-value of the book will be exceedingly great to many who consult it. Added to this, the portraits, seals, heraldry, and autograph facsimiles, increase the popular interest; and it may be safely predicted that for the future no *Peerage* will be printed after the old lines of Burke and Foster, the latter probably being the best specimen of the old style. We know that Mr. Doyle has spent many years in laborious research, and this is now put before the public in a comprehensive and tasteful manner which carries with it universal admiration for the result, and appreciation of the efforts which have brought it about.

*Tiryns; the Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns, the Results of the latest Excavations.* By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN; with a Preface by Professor F. ADLER, and contributions by Dr. W. DÖRPFELD. (London: J. Murray. 1886.)—This is a remarkable work of pure archæology, and its production raises the high reputation of our Honorary Associate, Dr. Schliemann, still higher as an ancient explorer. Asia Minor had already yielded a bounteous hypogeal harvest to his scientific system of investigations at Troy, as also Mycenæ and Orchomenos; and here again at Tiryns, a fortified citadel commanding sea and land, in the south-eastern corner of the plain of Argos, the buried *arcana* of prehistoric Greece have revealed themselves to his comprehensive researches with commensurate results.

Dr. Adler, in his extensive Preface of nearly fifty pages, contributes an exhaustive essay by way of general introduction to the study of comparative Greek archæology, summing up the principal questions which are involved by the ground-plans, the Cyclopean walls, the construction of chambers, the beehive tombs, and other details of architecture, which have been from time to time discovered, and to most of which we are indebted to Dr. Schliemann's labours.

The work itself consists of four chapters of 176 pages, in which the author in simple language recounts the story of his progress in the excavations, chiefly during 1884 and 1885. The details of the plant required for the undertaking, and of the manner of living and procuring provisions, are of great use to those likely to embark in similar operations. The chapter on the history and topography of Tiryns shows great and recondite research into the whole cycle of classical and scholiastic literature. The third chapter will, perhaps, be the most attractive to archæologists, as it contains the descriptions of the relics in terra-cotta, stone, and other material found in excavating the layers of *debris* of the oldest settlement in Tiryns. The pottery of this settle-

ment, with the exception of cups, was in form, workmanship, and decoration, quite distinct from that used by latter occupiers of the site. No one can inspect the excellent woodcut of the hand-made, one-handled jug of globular shape, made of rough, brick-coloured clay, and unpainted (p. 65); or the hand-made jug (p. 66) of dark brown clay, slightly baked after being washed with a solution of finer clay, which has been furnished with a lug on each side of the body, for the purpose of steadying it between two stones on the fire; without feeling that he is face to face with the oldest fictile remains of man's incipient intelligence. These hand-made pots, and the rudely shapen idols and rudimentary figurines which were found in close proximity to them, are found in more or less abundance all over the Greek world; and those who have had the privilege of inspecting the objects excavated by our Associate, Major A. P. di Cesnola, F.S.A., in Cyprus (now belonging to Mr. Edwin H. Lawrence, F.S.A., of Holland Park), will not fail to be struck with the close resemblance between the yields of that island and the Argive mainland.

The objects found in the *débris* of the second settlement of Tiryns are more extensive in character, and artistic in fabric, than the more archaic relics, and they are treated in a succeeding chapter according to a classification which has much to recommend itself. The vases with geometrical paintings, with specimens of which, from numerous Greek sites, the archaic vase-room at the British Museum is replete; those with glossy white or pale creamy colour; those, again, showing the earliest efforts of the draughtsman to depict birds, stags, and marine creatures, so constantly before the eyes of a riparian people like the Greeks; those with spiral ornamentation suggested by the tendrils of the vine (for we are inclined to reject its supposed origin to a "rolled wire", as hinted by Sophus Müller; the baked clay idols which possess very slight resemblance to the human form; and the objects of stone, ivory, wood, and glass,—each of these sections is endowed with attraction of the most potent kind to the student of ancient art, and Dr. Schliemann has rendered their study doubly interesting by the excellent way in which he has arranged and described them.

Dr. W. Dörpfeld, the companion and fellow-labourer of Dr. Schliemann, follows up the narrative in two subsequent chapters of considerable length, running to more than half the bulk of the work. In these he details in the minutest way the construction of the citadel and its walls; the palace in the upper citadel, and all its chambers; the remarkable architectural remains of an older settlement; and the several constructive parts, such as walls, pillars, friezes, and mural paintings; many of which, with new, elegant, and artistic patterns and designs, are admirably reproduced in coloured plates; and the work closes with an Appendix by Otto Helm on Mycenaean amber imported from the Baltic.

The volume has been beautifully printed, and the numerous plates and woodcuts, which are indeed indispensable to a work of this kind, testify to the liberal manner in which Mr. Murray has carried out the publication of a work which exhibits the latest phase of judicious and intelligent investigation of the arts and homes of a prehistoric race, highly cultured, as is evidenced here, long before it acquired that grace and beauty of inspiration which was to enthral the whole world for centuries with its unrivalled expression of the highest intellectual feelings of man. This position Greece did not suddenly assume; and in the book before us we, perhaps, see very little which may presage the high position of its later art; but there are not wanting, to those who study the subject of prehistoric Greece, as enunciated here and elsewhere, the little indications which lead up to the finer periods by almost invisible gradations.

*The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885.* By H.H. PRINCE IBRAHIM HILMY. In two volumes. Vol. 1, A-L. (London: Trübner and Co. 1886.)—The enormous amount of literature which exists in relation to Egypt and the Soudan is well exhibited by this vast collection of titles which Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, son of the Khedive Ismail, has gathered up during five years of English sojourn. His object has been to facilitate the acquisition of a knowledge of the great learning which has been exercised on the monumental lore, ancient writing, language and literature, and the mediæval and modern history of this remarkable country of the Delta. Bibliographies are always works of very special value and use, however imperfect they may be; but this one, which contains upwards of eight thousand entries, from its great scope and very extensive grasp of the many-sided literature of Egypt, is likely to prove deficient in very few entries of useful titles. Probably no one has ever imagined how many works have been inspired by the mystic land of Egypt, which has contributed books and articles to philology, history, politics, fine arts, and archæology, for almost as many centuries as the printing press has existed. We may, therefore, heartily wish a success for this book, which, among other things, shows that the descendants of the enlightened Mehemet Ali can wield a pen as well as a sword towards the furtherance of his country's position in the esteem of the world.

*Salammbô of Gustave Flaubert.* Translated by M. FRENCH SHELDON. (Saxon and Co., 23 Bouverie Street.)—The classical accounts of the most stirring events of Carthaginian history have formed the principal themes for this work, which is commanding a considerable amount of public notice at the present time. Those who are pleased to read ancient history rewritten in stirring language, and clothed in all the

attractive garb of fiction, will find much to admire in the work before us. The Introduction, by Mr. E. King, explains the motive of the work, and gives a capital account of the author and his following.

*Old Brighton.*—*Walford's Antiquarian* for January 1886 contains, among other papers, a capital one, with a map, on "Old Brighton", which is worthy of perusal in conjunction with Mr. Sawyer's Paper in this part of our *Journal*.

*Newton : his Friend, and his Niece.* By the late AUGUSTUS DE MORGAN. (London: E. Stock.)—Mr. A. C. Ranyard has, with Mrs. de Morgan, edited this interesting work, which gives a large number of details relating to the life of the great astronomer and his contemporaries, which have never before been put before the literary world in the forcible manner in which this account has been prepared. No future biographer of Newton can afford to ignore the work, and the study of the history of the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century in England would be incomplete without a perusal of this remarkable essay.

*Silex Scintillans : Sacred Poems and Ejaculations.* By HENRY VAUGHAN, Silurist. A Facsimile of the First Edition of 1650; with an Introduction by the Rev. W. CLARE, B.A. (London: E. Stock.)—This facsimile reprint has been undertaken chiefly with a view to reinstate Vaughan as a standard British poet. We fear that this forgotten versifier, like many other poets of the seventeenth century, has no chance of ever being appreciated again in the way that his Editor would desire; but his fate is not worse than that of many poets of the present day, who, though now warmly admired, will not be read a hundred years hence, even if they find an editor as competent, laborious, and zealous as Mr. Clare has proved himself to be.

Mr. Elliot Stock has just issued Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, a facsimile reproduction of the first edition published in 1766, with an Introduction by Mr. Austin Dobson, and a bibliographical list of the editions which have appeared in England and abroad. The many admirers of this charming work of fiction cannot fail to be delighted with the two quaintly pretty little volumes, which may claim a place in every home. As an English classic, *The Vicar of Wakefield* should by no means be confined to English-speaking races, and this reprint will greatly extend its appreciation.

*City Churches Destroyed since A.D. 1800, or now Threatened.* Illustrated and described by W. NIVEN, F.S.A., Architect, author of *Old*



*Warwickshire Houses, Staffordshire Houses, etc.*—During the present century fifteen churches within the old walls of the City of London have been destroyed; not by fire or other accident, but deliberately pulled down. Of two or three of this number it may, perhaps, be said that their destruction was inevitable, in the growth of the town, to make room for improved thoroughfares or important public buildings; but the rest have been destroyed because they stood upon valuable ground. With the view of helping to rescue from oblivion those churches which have already been destroyed, and of doing something, perhaps, towards warding off destruction from those now threatened, by calling attention to them, the present work is undertaken. There will be at least seventeen etchings on copper, and about six photolithographs. These will consist chiefly of views; but it is proposed to give plans of some of the destroyed churches as well as views; also a general plan of the City, with its churches; and some of the fittings and furniture will be illustrated. On account of its connection with church organisation in the City, and as the old buildings have recently been destroyed, it is thought that a view of Sion College may be included.

It is hoped that the book may be ready early in the spring. The impression will be strictly limited to 250 copies, namely, large imp. 4to. (etchings and letterpress upon Dutch paper), £1 15s.; numbered proofs, colombier 4to. (etchings upon Whatman or India paper, and half-bound in parchment), £3. To non-subscribers, at the rate of 25 *per cent.* additional. Proofs of several of the etchings have been exhibited at the Society of Painter-Etchers' Exhibitions, and at the Royal Academy. Specimens may, however, be seen by application to the Agent, Mr. Henry Gray, 25 Cathedral Yard, Manchester, who will receive subscribers' names, and be glad to communicate with any one interested in the subject.

*Costume in England: a History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century.* By the late F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. Third edition. Enlarged and thoroughly revised by the Hon. H. A. DILLOX, F.S.A. Illustrated with above 700 engravings. Vol. i, History; vol. ii, Glossary. (London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden. 1885.)

*Record-Evidences among the Archives of Cluni; illustrative of many of the English Cluniac Foundations, and the History of our early Kings from 1066.* By SIR G. F. DUCKETT, BART. Price 5s. Invaluable for the record-student and historian. Now for the first time published. Subscribers to send their names to Sir G. Duckett, Newington, Walsingham.

*The Old Charterhouse, Sutton's Hospital.*—Messrs. W. and A. H. Fry, 1886



photographers, of East Street, Brighton, announce that they have now ready a series of photographs of the buildings at the Old Charterhouse, London, the proposed demolition of which is causing much interest among Carthusians and archaeologists generally. The Master and his guests inspected the views on Founder's Day, 1885, and the highest approval was expressed in regard to them.

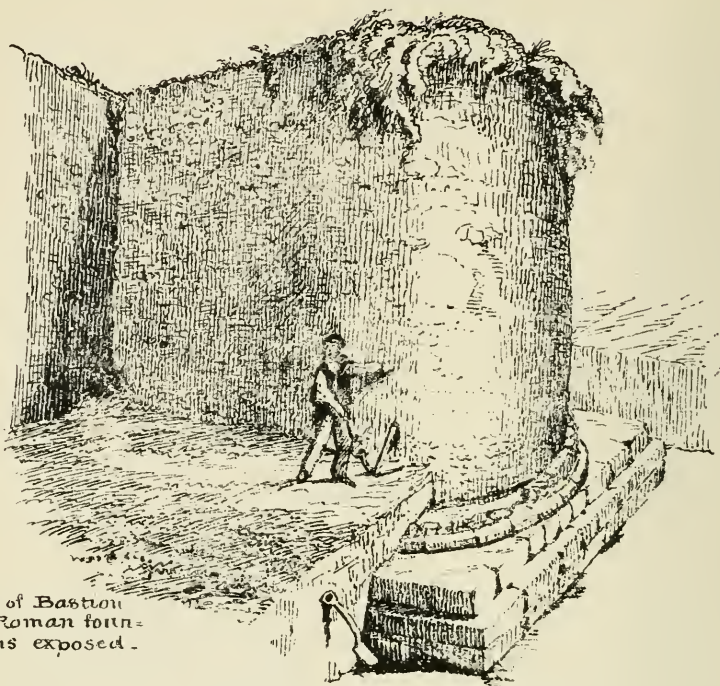
The "Album" contains the following Old Charterhouse views:—1, Facsimile of Inscription on Thomas Sutton's Tomb; 2, The Master's Lodge; 3, The Preacher's Court; 4, Pensioners' Court; 5, Washhouse Court (Exterior); 6, Ditto, ditto (Interior); 7, The Hall (Exterior); 8, Ditto (Interior); 9, Fireplace in Hall; 10, Havelock's Memorial; 11, The Corridor; 12, Chapel (Interior); 13, Tomb of Thomas Sutton (near); 14, Ditto, ditto (distant); 15, Dr. Saunders' Memorial; 16, Archdeacon Hale's Memorial; 17, Rev. Mr. Walford's Memorial; 18, Portrait of Thomas Sutton from the Engraving by Faber.

The price of the Large Series is three guineas and a half, in Album lettered "Old Charterhouse"; of the Small Series, one guinea, in Album lettered "Old Charterhouse." Price of single copies: Large Size, 5s.; Cabinet Size, 2s.

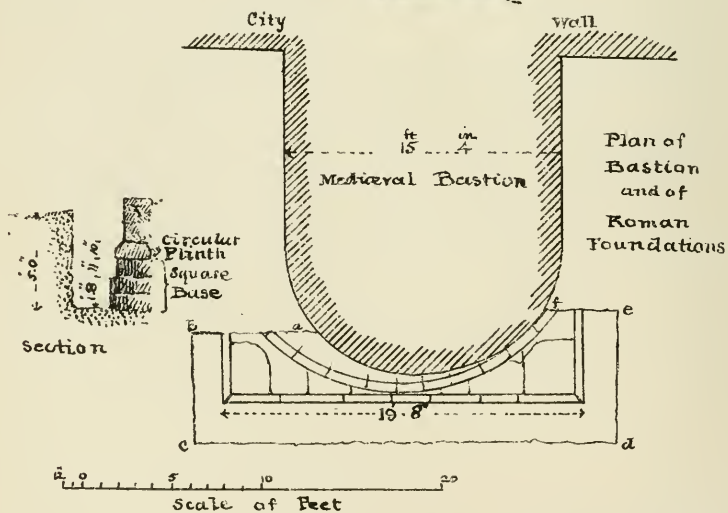
*Archæology and Architecture of Southwark.* By Mr. C. N. McINTYRE NORTH.—This work will be issued in uniform Parts, in wrapper, each Part consisting of two or three plates, 10 ins. by 14 ins., printed on toned paper, with a page of letter-press. It is proposed to issue twelve Numbers at intervals of about three months, and among the Plates will be included the following: View of Interior of St. Saviour's; Plans and Perspective of Almy's Almshouses; The Albert Institute, Blackfriars Road; Ancient Cistern and Fireplace in Southwark; Interior of Church, Orange Street; and a Restoration of the Kildalton Cross; Perspective of the suggested Improvement of the Borough Market, with the proposed Buildings, and a Restoration of St. Saviour's Church; the old Stained Glass of St. Saviour's Church, printed in Colours from old MS. Drawings; Plan and Perspective of Carnes Wharf, Bankside; and Plans of the old Borough Inns, *temp.* 1865; Perspective View and Plan of old St. Thomas's Hospital. The price per Part will be 2s. 6d. to those who subscribe for the series. Orders should be sent to Mr. W. Drewett, 43 High Street, Borough, Southwark.



# CHICHESTER CITY WALLS.



View of Bastion  
with Roman found-  
ations exposed.



a b c d e f. Excavation made August 1885 exposing the Roman foundations.

# THE JOURNAL

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## British Archaeological Association.

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JUNE 1886.

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### CHICHESTER: THE CITY WALLS, AND THEIR ROMAN FORM AND FOUNDATION.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

ON the eve of the visit of the Congress to Chichester last August, it was pointed out by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., that in our doubting age it was questioned whether the walls of Chester, Canterbury, and Chichester, were works of Roman times; and it was suggested by that gentleman, that most likely the question would be solved at Chichester in the affirmative, and the result would be effectively published, if the Association would undertake an examination by digging at the foot of the walls, in time for the result to be seen at the visit of our Association to Chichester. The Dean and Chapter readily yielded to the request of the Association, and permitted excavations to be made at the foot of the city walls, on the outside, at two places, where the walls pass through their grounds in the south-west quarter of the city. At one of these excavations Mr. C. Roach Smith's expectations were completely realised, and the most decisive evidence of the Roman origin of the city walls was brought to view.

The ancient walls of fortification remain in almost their entire circuit around the city, and form a polygonal or nearly circular enclosure, 2,200 feet diameter, north to south; and 2,310 feet diameter, east to west; at the centre of which the four principal streets of the city intersect. Where these streets passed out through the

walls, were the four city gates whose sites are still designated South Gate, East Gate, North Gate, and West Gate. A few stones of the piers of the archway of West Gate are still visible *in situ*. The structure itself was taken down, as well as the North and South Gates, in 1772 and 1773. The East Gate, which was also the City Gaol, was taken down in 1783, and a new Gaol was built at the side of the street where the Gate had stood. Some views of the Gates are preserved in Gough's MSS. at the Bodleian Library, and in the Burrell MSS. at the British Museum. In notices of the Gates, about the time of their removal, they are described as Roman work, but the views themselves give an idea of restored work of the time of Charles II.

At the East Gate the city was entered by the undoubted Roman road, the Stane Street, which still for a large part of its length is the direct road to London through Pulborough, and to Neomagus, near Horsham (according to Ptolemy the capital of the Regni), and thence to London. With the Stane Street also communicated, at two miles from East Gate, the road from Cissbury, the British camp of the Regni, commanding their coasts in this part.

From the West Gate proceeded a coast road to the Roman stations at Venta Belgarum (Havant) and Porchester, at the head of two of the waters of the great triple harbour of Trisanton, as I have tried to show elsewhere. (Vol. for 1878, pp. 283-291, 310.)

From South Gate went a road to the Chichester division of Trisanton, and to the eastern mouth of that estuary.

Here I must let fly a Parthian arrow at the long current error which has given to Chichester the wrong name of Regnum, a name really belonging to the district in which the city stands, and remind my readers that I have already endeavoured to show that its real Roman name was Clausentum, in the volume of this *Journal* for 1878.

In the North Street, about 440 feet north from the central intersection of the streets, stood a temple dedicated to Neptune and Minerva, as we judge from the large inscribed stone found at the spot in April 1723, in digging a cellar on the north side of Lion Street (called St. Martin's Lane in Roger Gale's description of the find) as it comes into North Street. The spot is just opposite



the present Council Chamber of the city, close to the site of the ancient Guildhall; and this temple was erected, as the inscription shows, by the authority of the Emperor Claudius, the conqueror of Britain. By an oft repeated error the discovery is said to have been made in digging the foundations of the Council Chamber itself in 1731. It is just as well to point out that this is a mistake. For a time the stone remained in view, built up in the face of the wall of the house at which it was found. It was subsequently removed to Goodwood. This stone was inspected, in August last, by the Association at Goodwood. Aptly the Emperor raised here a temple to Neptune, by whose favour he believed his forces had prosperously found a landing in the harbour of Trisanton; had found at this city a friendly people, the Regni; and had been enabled to take the field at once against the Belgæ, whose country bordered all the western part of the Trisanton estuary which we now call Portsmouth Harbour and Porchester Lake. It is not to be supposed that Claudius founded the city, but that he made, of a port of the Regni, a Roman *civitas*; and so it continued.

In 1809, in pulling down a part of the city wall in the south-east quarter of the city, a Roman inscribed stone was found built into the wall. In 1823 there was found in East Street, at the corner of St. Martin's Lane, an inscription of the time of the Emperor Nero, and bearing his name. In the same year, in North Street, under the foot-pavement, close to the Little Anchor Inn, in digging a cellar, was found an imperfect altar made by Lucullus, the son of Amminus. In 1833 was found in South Street, 7 feet deep, under ground, opposite the present Museum, fragments of two Roman inscriptions, which are now preserved in the Museum.<sup>1</sup> A more important inscription is of the time of Domitian, but when or where found is not upon record. It is a votive tablet to Jupiter, made for Sallustius Lucullus, the pro-prætor of Britain in succession to Agricola. These, and the discovery of Roman material in the ground in all parts of the city, attest the Roman occupation of it throughout the period of their rule in Britain.

<sup>1</sup> See *Brit. Arch. Journal*, "Winchester Volume", p. 166, and vol. ii, p. 85; and *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi, p. 466.

In the city walls, for ages past, there has been but little evidence of Roman workmanship. At the present time an experienced eye can here and there detect, by careful observation, a fragment of Roman tile in the face of the walls ; but to the most careful and experienced research these fragments appear to be very few, and the face of the walls has everywhere an aspect of modern work constructed with flint.

The walls remain 16 to 20 feet high. On the outer face they have a parapet at the top about 4 feet high, and 18 inches to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. Below the parapet the thickness is very great. There is nowhere a section visible where the thickness of the masonry below the parapet can be measured. This thickness is backed up on the inside by a mound of earth, giving to the whole a thickness of 25 to 35 feet, and forming a spacious pathway on the top of the walls, within the breastwork or parapet. In the north-west part of the walls the construction in the thickness of the walls shows a series of semicircular arches carrying the roadway within the parapet, instead of a mere mound of earth. I have often looked in vain at these arches for any mark of Roman workmanship. They appear to have been constructed with roughly cut stone dressings, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century ; but it is extremely likely that they were suggested by Roman arches found behind the main walls, and formed for the same purpose, viz., to carry a roadway upon the wall for the operations of the garrison behind the parapet.

In the lapse of ages the walls have, of course, been subject to injuries of time and of violence, though to the latter but little, for Chichester has made but little appearance in warfare. In the great rebellion the city was held by Captain Chitty for the Parliamentarians, who were favoured by a large part of the citizens ; and on Nov. 2, 1642, the Lords and Commons, noting the weakness of Chichester, and the willingness of the inhabitants to fortify it, empowered them to fortify it according to their discretion, and to retain seven pieces of ordnance and ten barrels of powder out of the magazine at Portsmouth. All this was seized by the Royalists within, and the Sheriff from without, on the 22nd of the same month. Immediately Sir William Waller, for the Parliament, set

his forces in motion to retake the city, and on Dec. 29th the thanks of Parliament were voted to the commanders for their great service in having accomplished this.

The damage to the walls in this attack was very little. The artillery, planted "within half musket-shot of the north port.....played through the gate up into the very market-place of the city." Preparations were made to batter the East Gate with a culverin, to set fire to the West Gate, and to petard a postern which had been walled up only one brick thick, and which would give entry through the south walls at the Deanery. Without waiting the assault, the Royalists surrendered. On the 2nd of March 1646, according to the Journals of the House of Commons, it was ordered "that Chichester be disgarrisoned, and the fortifications made since these troubles demolished"; an order which evidently had very little effect on the ancient walls. Still later, on Sept. 6, 1659, whilst negotiations were on foot for the return of the King, the Committee of Safety ordered the demolition of the city walls; an order which the Committee never had the power to execute.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the descent of the Armada was imminent, the walls were reported to be so decayed that thieves easily passed over them, and hid themselves in the city. Ordinances for the repair of the walls occur in the reigns of Henry VI and Richard II. In A.D. 1384-5 (the eighth year of the last named sovereign), power was conferred on the city magistrates to remove houses and walls, and to fell trees, for a space of 100 feet outside the city walls, and to impress artificers and labourers for the repair of the walls and ditches.<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 1369-70 (the forty-third of Edward III), the Patent Rolls indicate the existence of bastions, therein called *turelli*. It was then ordained that certain tolls and imposts, for the repairs, should continue for ten years,—*"quod quamplures defectus in muris et turellis clausuræ dictæ civitatis existunt."*

In A.D. 1261-62 (the forty-sixth year of Henry III), tolls were created for the repair of the walls. The particulars of these imposts may be seen in Dallaway, who quotes the Patent Rolls. In the same reign the King,

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Pat.

in 1216, commanded the destruction of the Castle of Chichester, which was at once accomplished. It stood within the walls, at the north-east point of their circuit. Its site is still marked by a huge mound of earth, which most probably is a part of the fort of the Regni, and preceded all Roman works here. The Castle had been built by Roger de Montgomery, the first Norman Earl of Chichester; and as the Saxons were not given to the construction of masonry fortifications, this addition of a citadel to the walls would seem to be the first important addition to the then ancient walled fortifications. For who can doubt that the existence of Chichester as a *civitas* at the time of the Norman conquest was due to its having retained its Roman walls? Thus it was that in 1072, as William of Malmesbury says, the Council of Windsor decreed the removal of sees from villages to cities; and under this decree the see of Selsey was removed to the city of Chichester, or, as we may well say, to the walled city of Chichester. The extent to which, in population, it survived as a city to this time, is shown by the *Domesday Survey*.

In a grant of Ethelred the Unready, dated A.D. 988, of "quatuor mansas" at Colworth, in the parish of Oving, there is added one "haga in Cycester", which gives the Saxon form of the name of the city then in use. In 956, Eadwig, "basileon of all Albion", granted to Brithelm, the Bishop of Winchester, "et fratribus Cicestrie morantibus LX mansas diversorum locorum". Here we get the Latin form of the name of the city.

We must go back to the year 895 for the next mention of our city. In that year the pagan Northmen, disappointed of prey amongst the West Saxons, pillaged the South Saxons in the neighbourhood of "Cisse ceaster", according to the *Saxon Chronicle*. In this, the sole mention of the place in that *Chronicle*, the descent of the city from the condition of a Roman fortress is clearly indicated by the Saxon affix of *ceaster*.

In another deed, undated, Ædelberht, "rex Australium Saxonum", made a grant of land to the venerable Bishop Wilfrid, which also gives the Latin form of the name; but, besides, indicates a large extent of land included in that name, extending to the sea-shore. The land granted



is thus described, “id est dimidium tributarium in parte Australi Cicestriae juxta mare cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus,—campis, pratis, fluminibus”. A *tributarium* was a hide of land. It seems likely that the transcriber who has preserved this deed to us has miswritten the name Ethelbert for Ethelwald, who was really the subordinate Prince of the South Saxons under Cæadwalla, King of Wessex, when, between A.D. 680 and 685, St. Wilfrid was establishing the Monastery at Selsey. And here it may be noticed how very little authority there is for that form of the name “Cisseceaster”; in fact, only one mention in the *Saxon Chronicle* (a work compiled at a distance from the city), whilst the local records give another form, “Cy-cester”.

In the history of the district there is, at this time, a very important grant by Cæadwalla, King of Wessex, although it does not mention the city by name. It is dated August 3, A.D. 683. The King, with the consent of Ethelwald (here called “Sub-Regulus”), granted to the venerable Bishop Wilfrid, for the founding and building of a monastery at Selsey, extensive lands at Selsey, Midmeney, Wittering, Ichenor, Birdham, “Egesaude” (which I cannot translate), at Bissenhay, Brimfast, and Sidlesham, with all their appurtenances. All this lies in the district between Chichester and the sea. The boundaries of it are thus given: “Prædicta siquidem tellus his terminis circumcincta clarescit. Ab introitu portus qui appellata Anglice Wyderinge post retractum mare in Cumeneshora; sic versus occidentalem plagam juxta mare usque Rumbruge, in ante juxta litus maris Chene-stone; inde in ante juxta litus usque Heremuthe; et inde versus septentrionalem plagam in longum fluvii usque Wialesflet; sursum [a Wialesflet] usque quo Brimesdik exit; inde versus orientem in longum fluvii; et sic versus australem plagam usque Wuderingemuthe.” I need not here notice other property included in this grant, at Aldingbourne and Lidsey, at “Geinstedsgate” (wherever that may be), at Mundham, Amberley, Houghton, and Waltham,—which some of it, down to our own time, remained in the endowment of the see,—because it is not within the boundary quoted.

Great light is thrown on the geography of the district



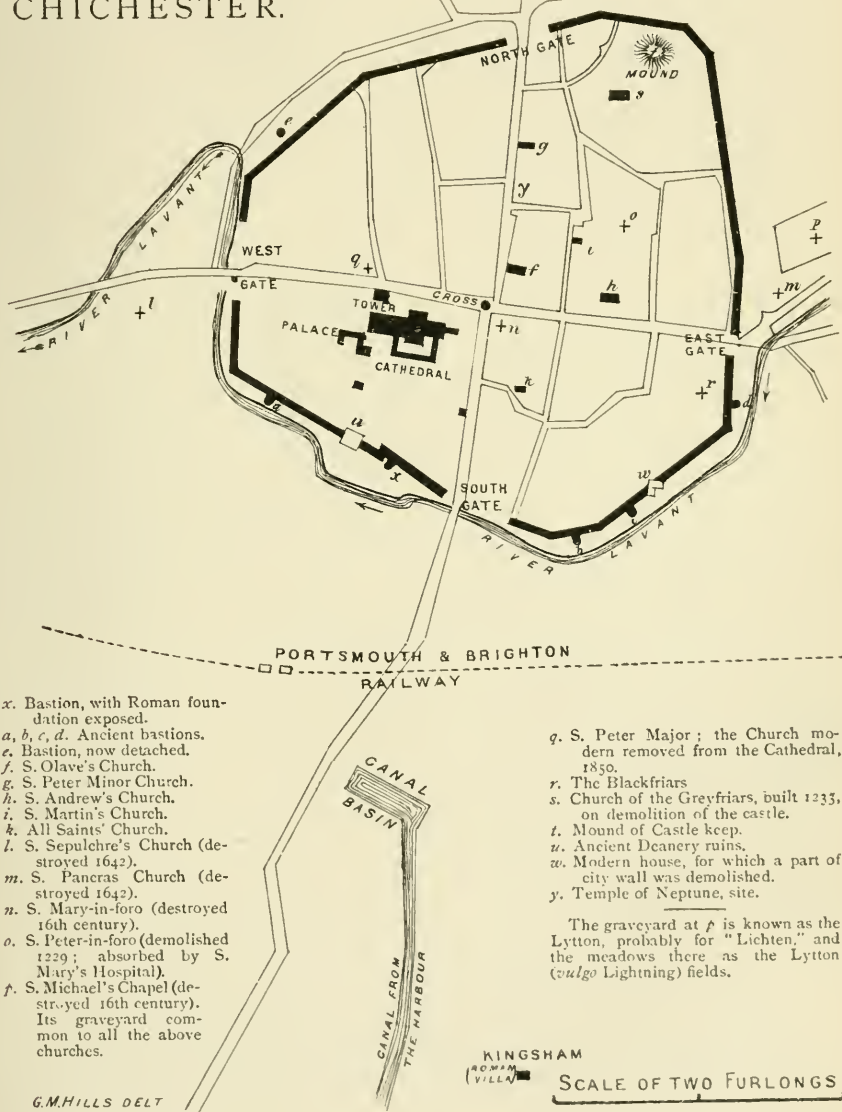
by a comparison of this boundary description with that of a comparatively modern deed quoted by the Rev. Alexander Hay from the archives of the Corporation of Chichester,—a document which it is much to be feared was lost when the reformed Corporation got rid of the records of their unreformed predecessors.

In the year 1680, *i.e.*, almost exactly a thousand years after the description I have quoted, a commission appointed to inquire into the extent and limits of the port of Chichester made the following return into the Exchequer : “ We do hereby set down, appoint, and settle the extent, bounds, and limits of the said port of Chichester to be from the Hermitage Bridge (near Emsworth), on the further confines of Sussex westward ; from thence down the whole channel or river running southward to the harbour’s mouth, called Hormouth ; from thence in a (supposed) line eastward to Selsey Bill ; thence eastward to Pagham Point, at the mouth of Undering Harbour ; thence to the most eastern part of the parish of Felp-ham, in the county of Sussex aforesaid ; so back again to Hormouth, and so by the river, north-east, to the Key commonly known and called by the name of Dell Key, situated in the parish of Appledram ; together with all bays, channels, roads, bars, strands, harbours, havens, rivers, streams, creeks, and places within the said limits contained.”

The difference in the intention of the two deeds is that the more ancient one describes an area of land bounded by the sea to the south ; by the harbour of “ Cycester ” to the west ; by a stream flowing into it, and called Wialesfleet, on the north ; and by Wudering Harbour on the east : whilst the description of 1680 relates only to the boundaries of certain waters, and in so doing describes the south, the west, and the east shores of the land included in the grant of A.D. 683.

From the two descriptions it is quite clear that Undering or Wudering Mouth was the entrance to what in modern times has been called Pagham Harbour,—an extensive indent of the sea reclaimed for agricultural purposes a few years back ; and that this was a bay of the sea in the lands known in 683 as “ Cumenshore ” ; and that the ancient name of the sea-entrance to Chichester

PLAN  
OF EXISTING  
WALLS OF ROMAN ORIGIN,  
AND OF ANTIQUITIES OF  
CHICHESTER.



x. Bastion, with Roman foundation exposed.

a, b, c, d. Ancient bastions.

e. Bastion, now detached.

f. S. Olave's Church.

g. S. Peter Minor Church.

h. S. Andrew's Church.

i. S. Martin's Church.

k. All Saints' Church.

l. S. Sepulchre's Church (destroyed 1642).

m. S. Pancras Church (destroyed 1642).

n. S. Mary-in-foro (destroyed 16th century).

o. S. Peter-in-foro (demolished 1229; absorbed by S. Mary's Hospital).

p. S. Michael's Chapel (destroyed 16th century). Its graveyard common to all the above churches.

q. S. Peter Major; the Church modern removed from the Cathedral, 1850.

r. The Blackfriars

s. Church of the Greyfriars, built 1233, on demolition of the castle.

t. Mound of Castle keep.

u. Ancient Deanery ruins.

w. Modern house, for which a part of city wall was demolished.

y. Temple of Neptune, site.

The graveyard at p is known as the Lytton, probably for "Lichten," and the meadows there as the Lytton (vulgo Lightning) fields.

KINGSHAM  
ROMAN VILLA

SCALE OF TWO FURLONGS

G.M. HILLS DELT



Harbour (the eastern portion of Trisanton) was "Here-mouth". Whether "Wialesflet" was, as is most likely, the Lavant, which, after encircling the walls of Chichester, flows out at Dell Key (or possibly the stream at Hermitage Bridge, Emsworth), I leave for this occasion. Nor do I identify here "Brimesdik" and "Woffet". The parts clearly identified have an immediate connection with Chichester city, which will presently appear. Another inference of some interest as to the ecclesiastical state of the city is to be drawn from the deed quoted, of A.D. 956, for it clearly shows that it was then in some degree subject to the see of Winchester; and this subjection is also indicated in another deed of A.D. 961, given by Kemble.

Reverting now to the date A.D. 683, to which we have traced back the history of the district by contemporary evidences, we have now to feel our way further into antiquity by less certain guides.

Bede wrote very briefly of the South Saxons, and at a great distance from them. He informs us that he had his information from Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, who became Bishop there about A.D. 709, and governed the see till his death in 745. At this time also the South Saxons belonged to the see of this Bishop. He related to Bede only the establishment of Christianity at Selsey immediately before his own time; and we are thrown upon the *Saxon Chronicle*, compiled after Bede's time, but founded probably on some kind of legendary chronicle of the earlier heathen South Saxons. All that the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us of the South Saxons in the period before 680 had better be given from the translation by Dr. Giles.

A. 477.—This year Ella and his three sons, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, came to the land of Britain with three ships, at a place which is named Cymenes-ora, and there slew many Welsh; and some they drove in flight into the wood that is named Andreds-lea.

A. 485.—This year Ella fought against the Welsh near the bank of Mearcraðsburn.

A. 491.—This year Ella and Cissa besieged Andredsceter, and slew all that dwelt therein.

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (cap. 5) tells us that Elli, King of the South Saxons, was the first "Bretwalda", or over-King, of all the Saxons and Jutes of England since

the Jutes first established themselves in England, which they did about A.D. 457, in Kent.

Upon these few sentences from the *Chronicle*, and a sentence from Bede, hangs all that has been made into story for Chichester and Sussex in pagan Saxon times. It is surprising into how many shapes the story has been wrought. The few and simple facts are, that in or about A.D. 477 a small band of piratical Saxons landed in the district, which a Saxon deed already quoted shows to have been between Chichester and the sea, slaughtered many of the native Britons, and drove some of them into the great forest of Anderida, which occupied the whole Weald of Sussex; that eight years later Ella, the chief of the band, fought a battle with the British at Mearc-creds Burn (which I take to be the present river Cuckmere, eastward of Lewes); and that six years later the same chief had so increased his power that he captured and sacked the Roman-British city of Anderida; that is to say, Pevensey.

That Ella became a powerful military chief may be inferred from his title of "Bretwalda". There is not a word, however, of his having captured Chichester; and as no military achievement of the Saxons against "Cyces-ter" is on record, it is presumable that it fell into their hands as a consequence of and by the policy of its inhabitants, strong within their walls, yet not strong enough to defy Ella.

But what of his three sons? Two of them are never named but once. One, Cissa, in the second mention of his name, is said by the *Chronicle* to have been with his father at Anderida, and, nothing more is known of him. That great pioneer in archæology, William Camden, in 1599 published his thought that the name of Chichester (which he takes from the one mention of the *Saxon Chronicle* to have been "Cissanceaster") meant nothing more than the city of Cissa. This opinion has been adopted without a question to the present day. Nevertheless, Camden himself observed that in Latin the name was "Cicestria" (not Cissacestria); that is, in the Latin of Saxon times; and Camden precedes this by saying that in the British language the name of Chichester was "Caer Cei". Now if we turn the word



“Caer” into its Saxon equivalent, we have at once “Ceī-ceaster”, which seems far better to account for its present name, Chichester, than any connection with the name of Cissa. I would call attention to the weighty opinion of Professor Earle, communicated to me,<sup>1</sup> that it was hardly possible that the name could be derived from the name of a man, Cissa.

Besides this, there is the question, were the sons of Ella real personages? Or were the names adopted by chroniclers in the eighth and ninth centuries, from places and events unintelligible to them, but which had vaguely become personified? It is certain this was so with respect to the supposed Hengist and Horsa, in respect to the settlement of the Jutes and Angles in Kent; and I think it can be pretty clearly made to appear that the sons of Ella are only allegorical sons; and the fact that chroniclers have given to Cissa the age of one hundred and twenty years at his death, and a reign of seventy-seven years over the South Saxons, makes it look as if his life was fabled.

How Camden knew that the British name of the city was Caercei, is traceable to Henry of Huntingdon. It is not in the list of twenty-eight British cities given by Nennius, the Briton; nor is it given by Geoffrey of Monmouth; but Henry of Huntingdon, who flourished A.D. 1154, in his list of ancient British cities, adds five or six names not given by Nennius, and amongst them Caercei, explained as Chichester by him.

“Cy-menes-ora” was, then, merely the shore or land of the men of Ceī or Cy; and Ella having occupied the district, when that fact was put into a chronicle, three or four hundred years after, Cymen was put down for the name of a son; the personal name being really taken from the district which Ella first occupied, whose coast was the line of shore of the men of Cy, described in a deed of A.D. 992, and again in 1680. In that part of it between Heremouth and Dellkey there are three points of land named at the present day Ellanore, Keynor, and Cobnor. I know of no ancient mention of the first place, but the name may have come down from Ella himself;

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Arch. Journ.*, vol. for 1878, p. 287.

the second seems to contain a corruption of the name of the men of Ceī; the third occurs in a Saxon deed of A.D. 765,<sup>1</sup> as “Cōponora”, and tends to show that this termination, “ora”, was applied to many subdivisions of as well as to the whole coast of the men of Ceī.

It is also worth remark that at the west side of the great bay or estuary of Trisanton a similar form of description applied to the inhabitants of the coast. They were called the men of Alwarstoke, who between A.D. 1256 and 1261 were made a body corporate by a grant of Andrew de Londonia, Prior of the Convent of St. Swithun at Winchester, and who about that time possessed a common seal<sup>2</sup> bearing the inscription, ✠ SIGILL : COMUNE : HOMINUM : PRIORIS : SCĪ : SWITHUNI : DE : ALWARESTOKE. A drawing of this seal was in the possession of the late Sir Frederick Madden, and was published by him in the *Winchester Volume* of the Archæological Institute, in 1846.

Backwards still, from the time when Ella and his Saxons, about A.D. 477, found the British in possession of Caercei, we have to retire to A.D. 120, about which time the Roman survey known as the “Antonine Itinerary” was compiled for the Emperor Hadrian. From this, as I have already elsewhere deduced,<sup>3</sup> it appears that the Roman name of the city (the Caercei of the Britons) was Clausentum, standing at the eastern inland extremity of the great triple estuary, Trisanton. The recent exposure of the Roman city walls has, therefore, in all probability, shown us some remains of the fortifications of Clausentum. Of the existence of the city some sixty years before, the evidence of the inscription of the time of the Emperor Claudius has already been quoted. The Romans did not here, as in the case of York and London, and many other places, Latinise the native name, but applied a name of their own, which has been supposed to mean the closed or enclosed harbour, which might apply to the remoteness from the sea, and the sheltered state of the branch of Trisanton, which stretches nearly up to the city. This translation of the name Clausentum, suggested

<sup>1</sup> Kemble, No. 1008; Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 198.

<sup>2</sup> A cast of the seal is preserved in the British Museum, Department of MSS., No. xxxvi, 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Journal*, vol. for 1878, p. 308.

on the supposition that the name belonged to Bittern, on the Itchen, near Southampton, is quite as applicable to Clausentum for Chichester.

It now only remains to describe briefly the result of the excavations made at the suggestion of Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., in August 1885, at the city wall, with the aid of a view of the bastion where the Roman remains of the wall are now thus brought into view, and a plan of the city, showing the whole circuit of the walls as they exist. This plan is taken from the Ordnance Map of Sussex, published in 1880, made to the scale of 6 inches to a mile. The Ordnance Map shows the bastions of the walls correctly. In this particular very few of the published maps of the city are correct. By showing an actually thick wall rather than merely the thin line of the parapet, I have tried to make the bastions on the accompanying engraving more distinct.

No doubt these bastions are some of the *turrelli* mentioned in the Patent Roll already quoted, of 1369-70, and then ordered to be repaired. It is quite probable, too, that they were then more numerous than now, for at the present time there are none in the north-east quarter of the walls, and only one in the north-west quarter, whilst in the south-east quarter there are three, which appear to me to be the full original number; and in the south face of the south-west quarter there are two, probably also the full original number, for the west face of this quarter is so short that the whole length of it may have been sufficiently flanked by the western gate tower.

The bastion selected for examination is the eastern of the two in the south face of the south-west quarter, at *x* on plan. There was no appearance above ground of Roman workmanship in the faces of the bastion. A straight trench was dug (*a, b, c, d, e, f*, on plan) parallel to the face of the wall, and to the tangent of the semi-circular front of the bastion. This trench was 24 feet long, 7 feet wide at the ends, and 4 feet wide at the front of the bastion, at its greatest apparent projection. The trench was dug so as to remove the earth to a depth of 6 feet 3 inches. When only a few inches had been removed, it was apparent that the flint facing of the bastion had under it a construction which had formed the

base of a larger bastion of similar form, and which justified Mr. Roach Smith's theory announced beforehand, that in course of ages the original Roman facing and subsequent facings having perished and fallen away, the walls had from time to time been refaced, and that they had lost somewhat in thickness. It was curious to notice, on the western part, how its exposure to the salt sea-breezes of the south-west, so prevalent here, and deleterious to all buildings, had destroyed the face to a much greater depth than on the east side. This diminution from the original size of the bastion is distinctly marked on the plan at *a* to *f*. The original work thus disclosed is of rubble sandstone set in Roman mortar, as is shown by the mixture of crushed brick with the sand and lime of the mortar. It is left only about 11 inches high in the western part, and about 2 feet 3 inches high in the eastern part.

It was found that this rubblework stands on a plinth built to the form of the rubblework, in wrought masonry, with a chamfered edge, the whole depth of the plinth-course being 11 or 12 inches. In the portion disclosed by the trench made, this plinth measured 19 feet along its curved face, and was formed by eleven stones, with large points of mortar between them, three-quarters to one inch, or even more, in width at each joint.

Immediately under the plinth the further progress of the digging disclosed that the foundation was formed by two courses of dressed stone brought from quarries (still worked) at Pulborough, Sussex. These foundation-courses are laid to a rectangular plan, the front line of the upper course being an exact tangent to the curve of the plinth. The lower course projects 6 inches beyond the upper, and the length along the front of it is 19 feet 8 inches. The joints are large, and filled with Roman mortar. The top course is 11 inches thick, and the under course 12 inches thick.

Beneath the under course it was found that the original foundation had been laid in the bottom of the trench dug by the Roman workmen, by filling in about 8 or 9 inches with flint and chalk rammed and beaten down to a compact mass, thereby also compacting the ground beneath.



Our trench was carried down about 9 inches lower; but the additional depth only showed that the ground had never been disturbed lower than the Roman foundation, and that the wall here stands on a solid, clayey formation. The extreme depth of the Roman foundation was not more than 2 feet 8 inches below the ground-surface when it was laid, but is about 5 feet below the surface of the meadow which now lies outside the walls in this part.

One small copper coin of Gallienus was found, and placed in the Museum. Many fragments of Roman tile, roofing and paving, and Roman bonding brick, were dug out, but no ceramic or ornamental ware. The excavation has been since filled in so as to cover the undermost bed of compacted rubbish and the two square foundation-courses, but to leave in sight the Roman curvilinear plinth and the Roman rubble base of the bastion.

At the same time another examination was made, 50 feet westward from this bastion, by a digging 26 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 3 feet deep, against the main wall. At this point the face of the main wall breaks forward 2 feet. It was hoped that something might be disclosed to show the reason of this divergence in the straight line of the face of the wall, but nothing was found in the masonry marking any Roman foundation there. Most likely the Roman work is masked behind this projection, the foundation of which is only 3 feet below the present surface of the meadow, and the ground undisturbed lower.

Immediately westward of this is another and much more considerable projection, apparently of the city wall; but this projection is, in fact, the Deanery of mediæval times. Close to it, or in this part, must have been the postern, bricked up with only one brick thick, which Sir William Waller, if the resistance to the Parliamentary forces had compelled an assault, had arranged to blow in with gunpowder. In the old Deanery walls are fragments of Norman, Early English, and perhaps Elizabethan masonry. It was pulled down when the present Deanery was built by Dean Sherlock in 1725. A breach had been made in the city wall for the construction of this ancient Deanery. It did not stand upon the wall; but, in the form of a spacious tower, it bestrode the foundation of the wall, and broke its continuity. It must have had a



vastly pleasant prospect across the pastures to the waters of "Cymenshore".

The second bastion of the south-west quarter is still further westward, and comes into that portion of the walls which lies within the Bishop's grounds. No doubt an excavation here would reveal results somewhat like those of the recent experiment at the other bastion.

The three bastions in the south-east quarter appear to be of like history with those of the south-west quarter. The one nearest to the south gate of the city is so clad with ivy that it is hard to examine its face now. The next one, eastward, has had its core dug out so as to form a flight of steps down through it, from the walk on the top of the wall, to the ground outside of the wall. In this excavation through the bastion many marks of Roman material are visible. This bastion is in the private grounds of a house which was built at the beginning of the present century, and which bestrides the foundation of the city wall almost exactly at the south-east point by compass.

For the construction of the house the city wall was pulled down, as long before it had been done for the old Deanery; and here, I imagine, was found the fragment of a Roman inscribed stone which the accounts of the discovery say was obtained in 1809 from the foundation of the city wall, near the east entrance of the city, and near to one of the towers, having only these letters on the upper corner fragment of the stone :

According to sketch of the Rev. B. Perkins :—	..NVSAT	But also engraved by Thomas King :—	D M
	...IRIVS		...NVSAT
	....LXXXV		....IRIVS
			...LXXXV

The third bastion of the south-east quarter is near to the East Gate, and faces directly east.

The bastion in the north-west quarter of the city is thus accounted for in Hay's *History of Chichester*, p. 341. In speaking of the attack on the city by the Parliamentary forces in 1643, he says: "At this time the bastion on the north walls, between the two west lanes, was erected, and appears to have been constructed of the stones of the two small churches of St. Pancras and St. Bartholomew, which they had razed on account of their

being posited without the walls." Now, and as far back as living memory goes, this bastion is, and has been, a detached mass of flint and rubble masonry. There are living citizens who remember when it was a feat which challenged the power of the most athletic of the boys to jump from the top of the wall to the top of this bastion. This feat was accomplished by some ; but as the masonry of the bastion has more and more perished, and the facing of the wall itself, where the bastion was attached, and the parapet has been completed all through, behind the bastion, the jump cannot be accomplished. I do not find any mark of Roman work or material in this bastion, nor of the material of mediæval date which Hay's account of its origin led me to look for. The narrow strip of ground outside the wall, into which this bastion projects, still belongs to the Corporation, and is known as "The Campis."

I have already suggested the probability of the existence, anciently, of other bastions in the north quarters of the city. The Rev. Alexander Hay (p. 211), writing in 1804, seems to point out the foundations of one. He speaks of a "fort without the walls, and joining to the walls on the north-east corner, the foundation of which still remains in the garden belonging to Mr. James Dawes." Near to this, but within the walls, he describes the existing mount where we know the Norman castle stood ; and upon the mount remains of a "tower or citadel,.....the foundations thereof may be traced all round the top, except the part opposite the glacis." There is no doubt this mount was a citadel of even older than Roman times, as it seems, from the way in which the walls of Roman foundation are carried outwards, to form a more acute angle than at the other changes in their course, with the special object of including within their circuit the citadel itself.

The history of the walls, and the now clearly demonstrated fact of their Roman foundation, do much to dispose of the popular error which has so long connected the name of Cissa with the origin of the name of the city. I have quoted Camden to show how from A.D. 1599 his authority made that error popular. But it had a still older origin. He took it from Roger of Wendover, the original writer

of *Flores Historiarum*, who died in A.D. 1237, and whose work was repeated and continued by Matthew Paris immediately on Roger's death. Thus in their history, at A.D. 514, it is written, "Ella, quem omnes Saxones pro rege habuerunt, defunctus est. Regnavitque pro eo Cissa filius ejus, de cujus nomine Cicestria, quam ipse fundavit, nomen sortita est."

Camden did not repeat this statement that Cissa founded the city, because he believed from Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote a century before Roger of Wendover, that the city had a British origin and a British name, "Caer-cei", and because he knew the city existed in Roman times ; yet he missed the point that the name is accounted for by Henry of Huntingdon's information of its British name, much more satisfactorily than by adopting Roger of Wendover's derivation of it.

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## THE OLD TRADERS' SIGNS IN WESTMINSTER HALL.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read Jan. 20, 1886.)

THE sightseer who strolls into Westminster Hall to survey its grand proportions, its noble roof with carved hammer-beams of chestnut, and to gaze on the sapient gentlemen who flit about in powdered wigs and black gowns, may perchance reflect on some of the mighty deeds which have been enacted within its ancient walls, the parliaments which have here been held, the state trials, the gorgeous assemblies, the coronation-banquets, with the plumed champion and his cast-down gauntlet, and yet never give it thought that this vast palatial hall was for full a century and a half employed as a sort of bazaar where busy traffic held domain. The shops, or rather stalls, of this bazaar or mart were, according to Strype (b. iii, p. 280), occupied by booksellers, law stationers, and sempstresses, the rents received from them belonging, by right of office, to the Warden of the Fleet.

On Sunday, Feb. 20, 1630-31, the Hall was found on fire "by the burning of the little shops or stalls kept therein", as Laud has recorded in his *Diary*. Pepys enters in his *Diary*, sub "20 Jany. 1659-60,—at Westminster Hall, where Mrs. Lane and the rest of the maids had their white scarfs, all having been at the burial of a young bookseller in the Hall." In the epilogue to William Wycherley's comedy of *The Plain Dealer* (4to., 1676); it is said,—

"In Hall of Westminster  
Sleek sempstress vends amidst the courts her ware."

The business carried on in Westminster Hall is thus described by Tom Brown in his *Amusements*, etc. (1700): "We entered into a great Hall where my Indian was surprised to see, in the same place, men on one side with

baubles and toys, and on the other taken up with the fear of judgment, on which depends their inevitable destiny. In this shop are to be sold ribbons and gloves, towers and commodoes, by word of mouth. In another shop lands and tenements are disposed of by decree. On your left hand you hear a nimble-tongued, painted sempstress with her charming treble invite you to buy some of her knickknacks; and on your right a deep-mouthed cryer commanding impossibilities, viz., silence to be kept among women and lawyers." The same author tells us, in his *Comical View of the Transactions in the Cities of London and Westminster* (sub Oct. 31), "Barristers troop down to Westminster at nine, cheapen cravats and handkerchiefs, ogle the sempstresses, take a whet at the *Dog*, or a slice of roast beef at *Heaven*, fetch half a dozen turns in the Hall, peep in at the Common Pleas, talk over the news, and so with their green bags (that have as little in them as their noddles) go home again."

About the year 1735 Henry Gravelot made a drawing of the interior of Westminster Hall, which was afterwards engraved by Charles Mosley. It shows the courts of law at the upper end of the building, and a line of shops or stalls on either side. Those on the river-side seem to be,—first, a bookseller; second, a mathematical instrument maker; third, a bookseller; fourth, a dealer in female attire; fifth, a bookseller; and sixth, another seller of female commodities. On the other side of the Hall, beginning nearly opposite the last mentioned stall, is a bookseller's, then a print and map-seller's, and lastly, a dainty establishment presided over by a girl who dealt in ruffles, turnovers, etc., worn by the beaus and belles of the period. This view, therefore, represents nine shops or stalls, four of them being occupied by booksellers, one by a printseller, one by a dealer in mathematical instruments, and three by sellers of dress and personal finery, or "sempstresses", as Ned Ward styles them in his *London Spy*, and which title is also employed by Tom Brown, Strype, and others.

If these four book-stalls in Gravelot's drawing are to be taken as an indication of the number that were here from the foundation of the mart, they must have frequently changed their signs; but it is not improbable



that there were more booksellers in the Hall during the seventeenth century than there appear to have been in the succeeding age.

We are in the dark respecting the signs adopted by the sempstresses and some other traders; but most of the booksellers have recorded theirs on the title-pages of their works, and the few which have come to notice are here rehearsed in alphabetical order.

*The Angel*, as a sign, appears to have been in general an abstract from the scene of the Salutation; but when it took its place in Westminster Hall it was, in all probability, as the badge of King Richard II. A family of the name of Fox carried on the bookseller's trade for many years under the sign of *The Angel*, for we find by the title-pages of their publications that there was a T. Fox in 1689, a Joseph Fox in 1696, and a J. Fox in 1761. John Dunton, in his singular autobiography, entitled his *Life and Errors* (1705), describes Mr. Fox of Westminster Hall as "a refined politician".

*The Ball*, plain, coloured, and gilt, was a very favourite sign with the old Londoners. The one in Westminster Hall may have been the royal orb, as most appropriate for such a locality. In 1662 *The Ball* was held by Rowland Hall, bookseller. Can the following jingle preserve the name of this old publisher?

"Wise Master Hall  
With head like a ball,  
That 's not very tall  
Nor yet very small,  
Has got a nice stall  
In the big old Hall,  
With books for us all,  
Both the great and small,  
So we 'll give him a call  
On Monday."

*The Black Bear* did duty as the sign of William Grant-ham, bookseller, both in Westminster Hall and St. Paul's Churchyard at the same time. Grantham's name is seen on the title-pages of works from 1657 to 1670.

*The Black Spread Eagle* was the early sign of Matthew Gillyflower, whose name will again be found when we reach *The Spread Eagle and Crown*.

*The Gilt*, sometimes *The Golden Cup* was the sign of

John Bartlet, bookseller, who displayed the like insignia at his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1631.

*The Goat* rarely occurs as a trader's sign, but we find it adopted as such by Francis Constable, who occupied a bookseller's stall in Westminster Hall during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. He seems to have begun business about the year 1616, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and thence removed to King Street, Westminster, where he died Aug. 1, 1647. I am indebted to Mr. W. G. B. Page for this information, who will in his forthcoming treatise on the booksellers' signs of London give a full account of Constable's peregrinations, and the many works which he published.

*The Judge's Head*, as we learn from the *Daily Courant* of Dec. 17, 1718, was the sign of a bookseller named Charles King, who continued his calling in Westminster Hall as late as 1730.

*The King's Arms* were emblazoned as signs in all directions so soon as Charles II recovered the throne of his ancestors; and we might well expect to find it in Westminster Hall. William Hinchman here kept a bookseller's stall with this sign in 1672.

*The King's Head*, probably a portrait of Charles II, was the sign of two booksellers in the seventeenth century. J. Collins traded under the royal head from 1668 to 1670, and William Hensman from 1672 to 1689.

*The Spread Eagle and Crown* has the look of a union of two signs under one denomination; and certain it is that the king of birds was not always associated with the emblem of monarchy. The sixth edition of *The Lady's New Year's Gift, or Advice to a Daughter*, was "printed by W. H. for M. Gillyflower, at *The Spread Eagle* in Westminster Hall, 1699"; and in the same year Matthew Gillyflower was one of the sellers of Monsieur de la Bruyere's *Characters, or the Manners of the Age*.

*The White Hart*, the well known badge of Richard II, was here the sign of Henry Mortlock. In 1675 the duodecimo volume of Sir Walter Raleigh's *Remains* was printed for Henry Mortlock at *The Phoenix* in St. Paul's Churchyard, and at *The White Hart* in Westminster Hall. Mortlock was still in business in 1686. Benjamin Barker succeeded to *The White Hart* as early as 1703, and con-

tinued here for several years. *A Short Introduction to Grammar, for the Use of the King's School at Westminster*, was printed for "B. Barker at *The White Hart* in Westminster Hall, 1720." The following are the titles of other works printed for Barker at *The White Hart* :—

*A Brief and Plain Exposition of the Church Catechism, composed for the Use of a Private School erected and maintained at the Cost and Charges of several Charitable Persons belonging to the New Church in Westminster. To which are added some Useful Ejaculations and Prayers.* By Thomas Jekyll, D.D., late Preacher at the said New Church in Westminster. The Fourth Edition. 1721. 12mo. 116 pages.

*The Great Importance of a Religious Life Consider'd : To which are added some Morning and Evening Prayers.* The Fourth Edition. 1721. Price 1s.

*A New Manual of Devotion, in Three Parts.* Part I containing Prayers for Families and Private Persons. Part II containing Offices,—1, of Humiliation ; 2, for the Sick ; 3, for Women with Child. Part III consisting of an Office for the Holy Communion : to which are added some Occasional Prayers. The Third Edition, corrected. Price 2s. 6d. 1721.

J. Stagg was another Westminster Hall bookseller, but his sign does not seem to be indicated on the title-pages of the works he published. He was in business here as early as 1722, and as late as 1740. Somerville's *Hobbinol, or the Rural Games : a Burlesque Poem in Blank Verse*, was printed for J. Stagg in Westminster Hall.

When we consider the arrangements of Westminster Hall in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, how large a portion was then taken up by the law-courts, etc., it would appear that a very limited space could have been allotted for the traders' stalls ; and when we further reflect that these traders were of divers sorts, we are forced to the conclusion that the booksellers could not have claimed a very large area for the display of their works. But few as their stalls may have been, it is a question if we have yet arrived at a complete list of their signs ; and we may feel assured that Barker, Bartlet, Collins, Constable, Fox, Gillyflower, Grantham, Hall, Hensman, Hinchman, King, Mortlock, and Stagg, do not

embrace the whole of the names of those who here dealt in literature.

And what has become of the names and signs of all the smart sempstresses and others who here rented stalls? Have they, like their owners, for ever faded from sight and memory? Or, in due time, will some plodding archæologist drag to light some musty and long forgotten document which will enable us to repeople, as it were, the old Hall with its former tenants, beholding again, in the mind's eye, their old signs, and breathe anew, as familiar sounds, their names and occupations? Although the archæologist is no body-snatcher, he is in one sense a resurrectionist; and may he ever prosper in his craft!

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## ON THE NORMAN DOORWAY AT ALNE IN YORKSHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read June 1886.*)

THE village of Alne is situated near the Railway Station of the same name, upon the Great Northern Railway, about twelve miles north-west of York. The church has suffered a good deal from repairs executed at a time when the principles of Gothic architecture were not understood; but the Rev. W. Grindrod, the present Vicar, is doing all he can to set matters right again, and has replaced the debased, round-headed windows of the last century with Perpendicular tracery and some very beautiful stained glass.

The chief remains of the Norman period are the south doorway of the nave, which forms the subject of the present paper, and a fine early font of bowl-shape, with a narrow band of conventional foliage round the outside, and some plaitwork on the upper edge. The lintel of the south door of the chancel also consists of a rectangular slab of Norman sculpture; but it is so much weathered that it is not easy to make out the subject.

The south doorway of the nave is round-headed, the arch having two orders of mouldings, ornamented on the face with a series of medallions containing figure sculpture. The outer series is of the greater interest, as each is inscribed, leaving no doubt as to the subjects represented. The outer arch consists of nineteen voussoirs, of which seven are modern restorations quite out of character with the rest, and three are entirely defaced, leaving a residue of nine stones in good preservation; which will now be described in order, beginning from the springing of the arch on the west side. Each voussoir has an animal or other figure carved upon it, beneath an arch, with an inscription in Latin capitals, neatly cut, in the centre, and a pellet-ornament at each side. The following are the inscriptions and subjects:—



No. 1, VULPIS, the fox, lying on his back, with his paws up in the air, and his mouth wide open. On each side of him is a bird, the head of one being temptingly near his extended jaws.

No. 2, PANTHERA, the panther, with winged dragon in front gazing up into his face.

No. 3, A[QUI]LA, the eagle, with outspread wings, looking over its shoulder.

No. 4, HIENA, the hyæna, having a tail terminating in a leaf, and holding in its mouth an object like a fleur-de-lys.

No. 5, CALADRIV[s], the caladrius, a bird with outstretched wings, perched on the bed of a sick man, and looking into his face. The man lies with his head resting on what looks like a stool with two legs, for a pillow, and with one bare arm outside the bed-covering.

No. 6. No inscription. An animal plucking a conventional flower or plant.

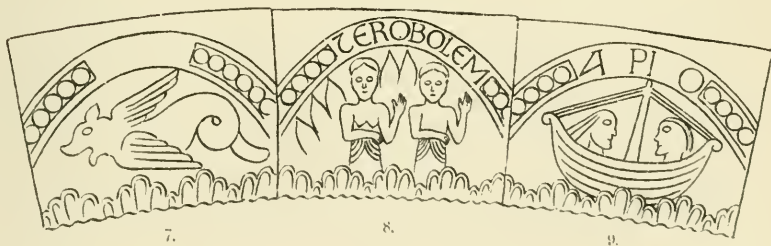
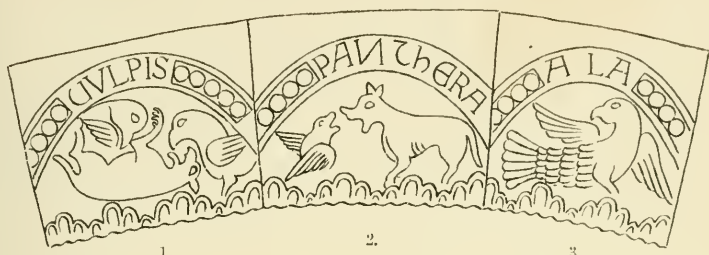
No. 7. Inscription illegible. A winged dragon with looped tail.

No. 8, TEROBOLM, the Terobolem, or two stones which emit fire, represented as male and female human figures naked down to the waist, but draped below, with the right hands placed across the stomach, and the left up-raised, the palms facing outwards; both figures enveloped in flames of fire.

No. 9, ASPIDO, the whale, called "Aspedocalune". Two men in a ship, one on each side of the mast, the sea-monster below being omitted from want of space.

The question now to be answered is, what meaning should be attached to these inscribed sculptures? And why should such apparently incongruous subjects be chosen to occupy a prominent position in the scheme of decoration of a Christian place of worship? The explanation is that they are illustrations in stone of the mediæval bestiaries, or books on the natural history of animals, with spiritual applications attached. Very little attention has been paid to such matters in this country, which accounts for the fact that although the doorway at Alne has been described previously by Mr. James Fowler in the *Archæologia*,<sup>1</sup> and by Mr. Thomas Gill in his *History*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xliv, p. 212.



CARVINGS ON NORMAN DOORWAY AT ALNE, YORKSHIRE.



of *Easingwold*,<sup>1</sup> the true interpretation has been entirely missed. Dr. Joseph Anderson was the first to point out, in his Rhind Lectures on *Scotland in Early Christian Times*,<sup>2</sup> the importance of examining contemporary MSS., and more especially the bestiaries, with a view to throwing light upon the origin of the elaborate system of Christian symbolism, founded upon the characteristics of the animal world, which enters so largely into the decoration of the early sculptured stones of Scotland. It was in consequence of hearing Dr. Anderson's Lectures that I took the first opportunity of inspecting the illustrated bestiary MSS. in the British Museum, of which there are seven of the thirteenth century, and two of the fourteenth;<sup>3</sup> those marked Harl. 4751 and 3244, and 12 F. xiii, being the best as regards the illuminations. When, therefore, I visited Alne during the course of last summer, I at once recognised the similarity between the sculptures and the miniatures of the bestiaries. The reading of the inscriptions placed the matter beyond doubt.

As far as I know, the only information about the bestiaries in English is to be found in a short paper in the late Thomas Wright's *Archæological Album*, and in a small book by the same author,<sup>4</sup> containing a translation of the *Livre des Créatures* of Philippe de Thaun. There is also a fragment of a Saxon bestiary in the *Exeter Book*, published by the Society of Antiquaries.

Whilst, however, so little has been done in this direction in England, the French archæologists have long recognised the importance of collating all the existing texts, and transcriptions of the principal ones will be found in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*<sup>5</sup> by Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin; and the *Bestiaire Divin de Guillaume, Clerc de Normandie*, has been fully treated of by M. C. Hippeau.<sup>6</sup>

With the exception of a MS. in the Royal Library at

<sup>1</sup> *Vallis Eboracensis, or History of Easingwold*, by Thomas Gill (1852), p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> P. 168.

<sup>3</sup> W. de Gray Birch and H. Jenner, *Early Drawings and Illuminations in the British Museum*, pp. 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*.

<sup>5</sup> Vols. ii, iii, and iv.

<sup>6</sup> Published at Caen, 1852.

Brussels,<sup>1</sup> most of the bestiaries containing illustrations belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ; but there are texts of a much earlier date. It is not known who was the author of the original bestiary from which all the later ones were copied. The *Clavis* of St. Melito, Bishop of Sardis in the second century, is believed to have contained a catalogue of beasts, birds, plants, and minerals, symbolical of Christian virtues and doctrines. A mediæval MS., put forward as a version of the original *Key* of St. Melito, but which is really a much later production,<sup>2</sup> has been published by Dom. J. B. Pitra in his *Spicilegium Solesmense*. St. Isidore of Seville (A.D. 596-636) quotes stories which are found in the mediæval bestiaries ; and Pope Gelasius, writing in the fifth century, discusses the orthodoxy of the *Physiologus*, or mystic zoology. Many passages in the bestiaries are quoted from the Apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas<sup>3</sup> (ch. ix), containing the list of unclean beasts given by Moses (Deut. xiv), with explanations as to their spiritual significance.

Cahier and Martin give the text of the three most ancient Latin bestiaries, two of which, of the eighth and ninth centuries, are in the Public Library at Berne in Switzerland,<sup>4</sup> and the third, of the tenth century, is in the Royal Library at Brussels.

The fragments concerning the panther and the whale in the *Exeter Book*, show that there must have been, as early as the eleventh century, a paraphrase in Saxon verse, probably taken from the Latin. This is the only known English bestiary. The first French metrical translation was made by Philippe de Thaun,<sup>5</sup> an Anglo-Norman poet, who dedicated his *Livre des Créatures* to Adelaide of Louvain, queen of Henry I of England, and it was, therefore, probably written shortly after her marriage in A.D. 1121. William, a priest of Normandy,

<sup>1</sup> Of the tenth century. See *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Plates 23 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> See article, "Melito", in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> W. Hone's edition. Of great age, as it is cited by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Fisiologi Theobaldi, Expositio de Naturâ Animalium vel Avium, seu Bestiarum* ; and *Physiologus*. See Sinner, *Catal. MS. Biblioth. Bern.*, vol. i, pp. 128-136.

<sup>5</sup> Original text, with translation, given in Thomas Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*.



wrote a second rhyming bestiary about A.D. 1208,<sup>1</sup> and Peter, a priest of Picardy, produced a prose version in the Romance dialect, translated from the Latin by the command of Philip de Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais (A.D. 1175-1217).<sup>2</sup> The bestiaries in question consist of series of descriptions of real and fabulous animals, founded partly upon the natural history of Pliny, and partly upon the supposed derivations of the names, mixed up with all kinds of marvellous stories, some having their origin in texts of Scripture, and others in the imagination of the writers on science during the middle ages. Philippe de Thaun quotes from classical writers, such as Pliny, Macrobius, Ovid, and Pythagoras; from unknown authors, such as Nebrot, Turkil, and Cingius the philosopher, and from the Bible. The description of each animal is followed by a moral, applying its habits in a figurative sense to the spiritual doctrines of Christianity. The method adopted will be best understood by quoting passages referring to the animals represented upon the sculptures at Alne.

*The Fox*<sup>3</sup> (Lat. *vulpis*; Fr. *goupil* and *gompis*).—The following is the description given by Philippe de Thaun. *Vulpis* is the name of a beast, which we call a fox. When it wants to catch its prey it lies down on the ground, covering itself over with red earth, with its mouth gaping and its tongue hanging out, pretending to be dead. The bird which sees the fox, thinking that it is dead, comes flying towards it, and wishing to devour its flesh, begins by pecking at it, and even puts its head and beak into the fox's mouth. The fox makes a spring, catches the bird, and eats it.

The fox signifies the Devil, who to those living in the flesh, appears to be dead; but when they have entered into evil and are caught in his mouth, he takes them with a spring and slays and devours them, as the fox does the bird when he has allured it. The fox does mischief to the earth by the holes it makes there. By

<sup>1</sup> Text given by M. C. Hippeau in *Le Bestiaire Divin*, reprinted from the *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol. xix. Paris, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. MSS. marked P, R. S.

<sup>3</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, p. 207; Hippeau's *Bestiaire Divin*, p. 122; Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*, p. 105.

the earth we understand man, and the hole signifies sin, by which he is ensnared.

Upon the sculpture at Alne we see the fox lying on his back, with his mouth open and two birds pecking at him, one putting its beak inside the fox's mouth, as described in the bestiary. This corresponds exactly with the illustration given in the MS. in the Arsenal Library at Paris,<sup>1</sup> except that there are three birds instead of two, and the fox's tongue is shown hanging out, which is not the case at Alne. Additional details are given in other MSS.: when the fox is pretending to be dead he holds his breath, and inflates himself with it: the red earth with which he covers himself is to imitate blood. The flesh of the fox, which the birds desire to eat, is typical of the works of the flesh which are specified in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (ch. v, 19), and quoted in the bestiary. There are four special texts from Scripture relating to foxes, which are referred to in the bestiaries. One in the Psalms (lxxiii, 9): "But those who seek my soul to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth. They shall fall by the sword; they shall be a portion for foxes." One in the Song of Solomon (ii, 15): "Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines." Our Lord's words: "The foxes have holes", etc. (Matt. viii, 20), and his comparison of Herod to a fox (Luke xiii, 31).

The stories of the treachery and cunning of the fox were very favourite subjects in mediæval art, especially on the carved misereres in cathedrals.<sup>2</sup> A fox playing upon a harp, and a woman dancing, or rather tumbling, occurs upon a medallion on the Norman doorway at Barfreston in Kent.<sup>3</sup>

*The Panther* (Lat. *panthera*, Fr. *panthère* and *pantère*).—The story of the panther is to be found in the *Exeter Book*, in Saxon rhyme, clothed in words of such beauty that it is a matter of extreme regret we possess only a fragment of what must have been a poem of quite as high an order of merit as Caedmon's paraphrase of the Scrip-

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Pl. 21, fig. A 1.

<sup>2</sup> As at Boston Church, Lincolnshire. See *Assoc. Archt. Soc. Rep.*, vol. x, p. 175. Ludlow: see Thos. Wright's *Hist. of Ludlow*.

<sup>3</sup> The fox lying on his back, catching birds, occurs on the doorway of St. Pietro, at Soletto. See Gally Knight's *Italy*, vol. ii.

tures, which formed the basis of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Philippe de Thaun tells us that the panther's name is derived from the Greek word *πᾶν*, all. Hence it has many characteristics and many colours ; or, in the words of the Saxon poet,—

“ That is a curious beast,  
wondrously beautiful,  
of every hue.  
Such, men tell,  
persons of holy spirit,  
that Joseph's  
tunic was  
of every tinge  
in colours varying,  
of which each more bright,  
each more exquisite  
than other shone  
to the sons of men.  
Thus this beast's hue,  
pale, of every change,  
brighter and fairer,  
wondrously shines ;  
so that more curious  
than every other,  
yet more unique  
and fairer,  
it exquisitely glistens  
ever more excellent.”

Philippe de Thaun goes on to say that the panther is of a mild and good disposition, being rightly loved by all animals except the dragon. This little animal eats divers meats, and when satisfied enters into its den, and sleeps for three days. Then the Saxon poet says :

“ When the bold animal  
rises up,  
gloriously endowed,  
on the third day,  
suddenly from sleep,  
a sound comes  
of voices sweetest  
through the wild beast's mouth ;  
after the voice  
an odour comes out  
from the plain,  
a steam more grateful,  
sweeter and stronger,  
than every perfume,  
than blooms of plants  
and forest-leaves,  
nobler than all  
earth's ornaments.”

When the animals hear the cry of the panther, whether they be near or far, they will assemble, and follow the smell that issues from its mouth. The dragon alone, who hates him, will be seized with a great fear, and fly from the smell, laying himself down on the ground dead, torn and disfigured, as if he were killed.

The panther signifies Christ, who is loved by all except the dragon, which means the Devil. The various colours of his coat are the qualities of the wisdom of God, clearness, holiness, subtlety, etc. God is one in his Deity, all ( $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ) in his humanity. As the panther sleeps in his den for three days, and wakes upon the third, so Christ descended into Hades, and rose again. The animals which are near signify the Jews under the Law, and those afar off, the Gentiles without the Law. When the fame of the resurrection of our Lord spreads throughout the earth, and the voice of the Gospel reaches all peoples, they are filled with the sweet odour of his commands, and cry out with the Psalmist, "How sweet are thy words unto my taste! Yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth."<sup>1</sup> The Devil alone is afraid of Christ.

"That is the ancient fiend  
whom he bound  
in the abyss of torments,  
and fettered  
with fiery shackles,  
o'erwhelmed by dire constraints."

On the sculpture at Alne the panther is shown facing a winged dragon. In the MS. of the Picardy bestiary, in the Arsenal Library at Paris, a row of animals, including a stag, are seen following the panther, whilst the dragon is flying away up in the air above its head.<sup>2</sup> In the oldest Latin bestiaries the text from Hosea (v, 14), "I will be unto Ephraim as a lion, and as a young lion to the house of Judah", is quoted as follows: "Factus sum sicut leo domui Juda, et sicut pantera domui Ephraim."

*The Eagle*<sup>3</sup> (Lat. *aquila*; Fr. *aigle* or *égle*).—Philippe de Thaun tells us that the eagle is the king of birds. It

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxix, 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Pl. 22, figs. B, A.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales d'Archéologiques*, vol. ii, p. 164; Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire Divin*, p. 100; Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*, p. 109.



FOX



PANTHER



HYENA



CALADRIUS



TURROBOLEN



WHALE





can look straight at the sun when it is brightest, without blinking, and from aloft can gaze into the depths of the ocean and see the fish swimming, which it seizes and drags ashore for food. When the young birds in the nest are very small the eagle takes them in its claws, and bearing them upwards, compels them to gaze upon the sun at its brightest; the ones which can look straight at the light without flinching, it regards as its own offspring, and cherishes, but the others which cannot do so, it refuses to bring up any longer. When the eagle gets old, and feels its wings heavy and its sight failing, it mounts high in the air and scorches its wings in the heat, after which it dips itself three times in a fountain of clean water and becomes young again. The eagle signifies Christ, who dwells on high, and is far-seeing. The sea is the world, and the fish the people who are in it. God came into the world to obtain possession of our souls, and He draws us towards him by right as the eagle catches the fish. Christ can gaze upon God without being blinded, as the eagle can look at the sun; and as the eagle bears its children aloft, so will an angel carry our souls to present them before God, who will receive the good and reject the evil. The restoration of the youth of the eagle and the dipping, signifies the baptism of this mortal life.

The two texts from Scripture upon which the above allegory is founded are one in Deuteronomy (xxxii, 11), "As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings, so alone the Lord did lead him (Jacob), and there was no strange god with him"; and the other in the Psalms (ciii, 5), "So that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's," which is quoted in the bestiaries. The eagle is shown in the Paris Arsenal MS. hovering over the fountain of clear water<sup>1</sup>; in the Brussels MS. flying towards the sun<sup>2</sup>; and in one of the Brit. Mus. MSS.<sup>3</sup> catching a fish. At Alne the eagle appears without any accessories. Examples of the eagle catching a fish occur on a sculptured Celtic cross at St.

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Pl. 20, fig. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, Pl. 23, fig. B v. This MS. is of the tenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. 4751, fol. 35 b.

Vigeans in Forfarshire; on the jamb of a Norman doorway at Ribbesford, in Worcestershire; in the Celtic MS. known as the Book of Armagh at Trinity College, Dublin; and on a metal plate in the British Museum. An eagle also occurs upon the Norman font at Tissington, in Derbyshire.

*The Hyena*<sup>1</sup> (Lat. *hyena*; Fr. *hienne*, *hyène*, and *yenne*).—The descriptions of the appearance of the hyena vary. The French prose bestiary says that it is like a bear, but of a different colour, and has the neck of a fox. Philippe de Thaun calls it the stag-wolf, which stinks and is very fierce. The hyena is male and female, and therefore a filthy beast.<sup>2</sup> In this respect it resembles the covetous and luxurious person, who ought to possess the firmness and strength of purpose of a man instead of the weak vacillation of a woman; or like the Jews, who in the beginning worshipped God like men, but afterwards gave themselves up to effeminate luxury, and the adoration of idols. In the bestiaries the text from Jeremiah (xii, 9), "Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled (or taloned) bird", is quoted thus: "Spelunca hyænæ hereditas mea facta est." The hyena inhabits the tombs and devours dead bodies. It is generally shown in the illustrations of the MSS. dragging a corpse out of a grave and gnawing it.<sup>3</sup>

There are two other stories told of the hyena, that he has in his eye a stone, which, if placed under the tongue, confers the gift of prophecy, that he can imitate the human voice, and thus entices shepherds from their huts in the night by calling their names, in order to devour them. On the sculpture at Alne the hyena has a floriated tail and an object in its mouth, but it does not resemble the drawings in the MSS. very closely. However, the

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii, p. 203; Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire Divin*, p. 131; Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> "Neither shalt thou eat of the hyena; that is, again, be not an adulterer nor a corrupter of others; neither be like to such. And wherefore so? Because that creature every year changes its kind, and is sometimes male and sometimes female." (Apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas, ch. ix, ver. 8. Hone's edition.)

<sup>3</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Pl. 21, fig. A R; Brit. Mus., MS. Harl. 4751, fol. 10.

inscription leaves no doubt as to the intention of the artist.

*The Caladrius*<sup>1</sup> (Lat. *calatrius*, *kaladrius*, *charadrius*, and *calandria*; Fr. *caladres*).—Calandre is given in the French dictionary as being equivalent to the English lark, but this does not correspond with the description in the bestiaries.

Caladrius is the name of a bird found in the country of Jerusalem, which is perfectly white all over, having no spot of black, shaped like a thrush,<sup>2</sup> and with two upright horns upon its head.<sup>3</sup> Moses forbids it to be eaten (Deut. xiv, 18). The caladrius is found in the courts of kings, and when anyone is ill it can tell whether he will live or die. If the disease is fatal, the bird will turn away his head, and will not deign to look at the sick man, and then all know that death is near; but if the malady is not dangerous, the bird looks towards him and draws the disease to itself out of the man, and he recovers. The caladrius then flies up in the air towards the sun, and all his infirmity disappears; thus the sick man is cured. The bird has a great bone in its thigh, the marrow of which will restore sight to the blind by anointing the eyes with it.<sup>4</sup>

The caladrius signifies Christ, who is free from all blemish of sin, and the Devil can discover no spot in the whiteness of His purity. Our Lord came down from heaven to save the Jews, but He averted his face from them on account of their unbelief, and turned towards the Gentiles, taking our infirmities upon him and bearing our sins. As the caladrius flies up in the air, so Christ, when He ascended on high, led captivity captive (Ephesians, iv, 8). The curative property of the marrow in the thigh-bone of the caladrius is typical of anointing with the chrism, by which the spiritual eyes of the Christian are opened.

The allegory of the caladrius seems to have its origin

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, p. 129; Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire Divin*, p. 89; Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Philippe de Thaun.

<sup>3</sup> French prose bestiary. The horns are shown in the illustrations of the MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Philippe de Thaun.

in texts from Scripture, especially in the Psalms, speaking of God as turning away His face from us (Ezek., vii, 22), or looking towards us (Ps., lxxx, 7). The illustrations in the MSS. generally correspond exactly with the text, and show a bird perched on the end of the sick man's bed, and either looking towards him or away from him. The sick man often wears a crown, in reference to the passage in the bestiary, which says that the caladrius is found in the courts of kings. In the Paris Arsenal MS.<sup>1</sup> the caladrius is represented flying away with the disease, and has two horns upon its head, as described in the French prose text. On the sculpture at Alne the bird is looking in the face of the sick man, who is therefore destined to recover. In the tenth century MS. at Brussels the caladrius is drawn, first, being held up by an attendant to look at the sick man, and then is seen flying up towards the sun.<sup>2</sup>

*The Two Stones which emit Fire.*<sup>3</sup>—In the French MSS. these stones are called “les deux pierres qui rendent fu”, and in the Latin MSS., “lapides igniferi”. The name of the stones is spelt variously, “turobolein”, “terrebolen”, “terrebuli”, “turobolen”, “cærobolim”, and “ceroboljm”. At Alne it is “terobolem”. The derivation is probably from the Greek πυροβάλοι λίθοι, or fire-producing stones. Philippe de Thaun tells us that “turrobolen” are stones of such a nature that when they are near together they will emit fire, but when far apart they will not do so. These stones are found, in the East, upon a mountain,<sup>4</sup> and one has naturally the semblance of a man, and the other takes the form of a very beautiful woman. A stone of such a quality signifies a woman and a man, for when they are near together their love influences them, and they go on increasing in heat, as the stones burn, till the fire is extinguished, and luxury restrained; therefore nuns are separated from monks and abbots, and no one ought to wonder if the Devil catches holy people by means of woman, for she has more snares than man can

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Pl. 19, fig. F.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, Pl. 24, fig. C A.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 125; Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire Divin*, p. 84; Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Latin and French prose bestiaries.



conceive. Adam, Solomon, David, and Samson, were all deceived and conquered by women. Woman is the Devil's door for catching holy men by evil contrivance. The Latin bestiary adds that Joseph was also among those tempted by women. Eve and Susanna were tempted; Eve, consenting, fell; but Susanna, being protected by the law, conquered.

The "lapides igniferi" are always represented in the illustrations of the bestiaries<sup>1</sup> exactly as at Alne, in the shape of a male and female figure in the midst of flames, which, the Latin MSS. tell us, consume the whole mountain. The miniature in the tenth century Brussels MS. differs from those in the later versions, and shows a woman holding the two stones in her hand; one being ring-shaped, and the other a round ball bursting out into flame. In front stands a man extending his hand towards the stones, and behind is a winged angel of darkness.

*The Whale.*<sup>2</sup>—Several names are given to the whale in the bestiaries; the French prose MS. calls it "lacorie"; the Latin MSS. "aspedocalone", "cetus magnus aspidohelnes", "aspis cheloune", "aspidio testudo", and in the Saxon MS. "fastitocalon". At Alne the inscription appears to read "aspidio", although the second letter seems more like a T.

The whale is a great monster called "Fasticalon", who dwells in the ocean. It spreads the sand of the sea over its back, and raising itself above the surface of the water, remains perfectly still, so that the seafarers mistake it for an island.

"Like is its aspect  
to a rough stone  
it, as it were, roves  
by the sea shore,  
by sand hills surrounded  
of sea-aits the greatest;  
so that imagine  
wavefarers  
that on some island  
they gaze with their eyes  
and they fasten

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Pl. 19, fig. E, and Pl. 24, fig. B Y.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 251; Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire Divin*, p. 151; Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*, p. 108; *Codex Bezae Cantabrigie*, p. 360.



the high-prowed ships  
 to that false land  
 with anchor ropes.  
 Settle their sea horses  
 at the sea's end,  
 and then on to that island  
 mount  
 bold of spirit ;  
 the vessels stand  
 fast by the shore  
 by the stream encircled ;  
 then encamp,  
 weary in mind  
 the seafarers  
 (they of peril dream not)  
 on that island  
 they waken flame  
 a high fire kindle.

When the whale feels the heat of the fire and the weight of the people and the ship, it makes a plunge, and

then suddenly  
 into the salt wave  
 with the bark  
 down goes  
 the ocean's guest,  
 seeks the abyss  
 and then, in the hall of death  
 to the flood commits  
 ship with men.

The whale signifies the Devil ; the sands are the riches of this world ; the ship is the body, which should be guided by the soul, who is the steersman ; and the sea is the world. When we put our trust most in the pleasures of this life, and think we are quite safe, suddenly, without any warning, the Devil drags us down to hell. The whale has another property : when he is hungry, and

lusts after food,  
 then oceanward  
 his mouth opens,  
 his wide lips,  
 a pleasant odour  
 comes from his inside,  
 so that thereby other  
 kinds of sea fishes  
 are deceived ;  
 eager they swim to  
 where the sweet odour  
 cometh out ;

they there enter  
 in heedless shoal,  
 till the wide jaw  
 is filled ;  
 then suddenly  
 around the prey  
 together crash  
 the grim gums.

The whale is the Devil, and the sweet smell which issues from his mouth signifies the seductive nature of his temptations. The whale is also like a wicked woman, whom the perfect and the cautious do not approach ; such was Joseph and the Egyptian woman, and Susanna and the elders. When he has caught his victim, the Devil,

then he his grim  
 gums dashes  
 after the death pang  
 fast together.  
 Hell's latticed doors have not  
 return or escape,  
 outlet ever,  
 for those who enter  
 any more than the fishes,  
 sporting in the ocean  
 from the whale's gripe  
 can turn.

The illustrations in the MSS. show a huge sea monster, supporting a ship on its back, together with a lighted fire, over which a cooking-pot is boiling ; trees are also growing out of his body. A shoal of small fishes are rushing into his mouth.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the sculpture at Alne the ship only appears, the whale and other accessories being omitted, probably from want of room.

*The Dragon.*—There is one medallion at Alne which has the inscription entirely obliterated, although the blank space in the ornament where it has been still remains. The animal represented is apparently a winged dragon. We do not find the peculiarities of the dragon described in the bestiaries, with a spiritual application as in the case of the other animals, but it is introduced in the story of the panther<sup>2</sup> as flying away from its cry, in

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii, p. 251, and vol. ii, Pl. 22, fig. B C.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 235.

the story of the elephant,<sup>1</sup> who protects its young from his attacks; and in the story of the "arbor peredexion",<sup>2</sup> where the dragon fears the doves, who eat the fruit of the tree. In all cases the dragon is the Devil, and the personification of evil. The chief subject where the dragon occurs as one of the principal actors is in the contest with St. Michael or St. George, or in the curious legend of St. Margaret. None of these scenes are, however, treated of in the bestiaries.

Upon the inner arch-moulding of the arch of the doorway at Alne are fifteen circular medallions, two of which are modern restorations, enclosing sculptures of animals. Some of these are much defaced, but the following are the most remarkable: the Agnus Dei; bird with outspread wings; man with axe, killing pig; goat with serpent's tail, as shown on signs of zodiac. Upon the moulding at the right-hand side of the doorway, above the capital of the column, is carved a mermaid.

In conclusion I must express my best thanks to the Rev. W. Grindrod, Vicar of Alne, for his kind assistance in investigating the sculptures which he watches over with such loving care.

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iv, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 284.

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## ANCIENT SUSSEX FORTRESSES.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read August 1885.)

THE subject of the ancient fortresses of Sussex has been treated by many competent authorities, and among the latest by General Pitt-Rivers, who has the advantage of professional knowledge in military affairs, not given, as far as I know, to the other writers on the subject, except in the case of General Roy, who wrote his work on military antiquities many years ago. At the same time, by accepting the facts as they are related very fully by General Pitt-Rivers in *Archæologia*, xlii and xlvi, we must not undervalue the right of civilians such as the late Mr. George Vere Irving to be heard, and to draw their own conclusions from the premises, particularly when, as in the case of this much valued member of the British Archæological Association, the antiquary has given his special attention, through many years, to the survey of camps on the spot, illustrating his examples in our *Journals* with plans and measurements; and I would particularly refer to the two chapters in volumes x and xiii, in which he compares the camps of Lanarkshire with those on the Sussex Downs.

The conflict of opinion is shown in the case of this camp of Hollingbury. Mr. Horsfield considers it to be Roman on account of its being square. Mr. Turner, on the other hand, attributes it to the Druids on account of its being “decidedly circular”; while General Pitt-Rivers says “that from personal inspection he should pronounce it to be of an irregular square form, the corners being rounded, and the sides bulging.” Such a configuration appears to have been best adapted to the faces of the hill on which it stands. There are the remains of a bank leading from the south-west corner of this work in the direction of Brighton. “A block of Druid sandstone”, he continues, “stands on one side of one of the gateways to the west, and another is on the parapet on the south



side." He adds, in a note, that "since writing the above his attention has been drawn to the evidence of an extensive flint manufacture which exists in the neighbourhood of Hollingbury, and which leaves little doubt on his mind that this work, like the others, was of British origin."

The Rev. Edward Turner, when describing the forts of this county in vol. iii, p. 173, of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, fell into the error common to antiquaries of his time, by considering that all Roman camps were square or oblong; that British camps only were round; and that the Saxons had no camps of their own construction, but rounded off the corners of the Roman camp found ready for use. Here are several errors. Firstly, the square or rectangular camps of the Romans were rounded off at the corners according to their own rules; secondly, the rectangular plan adopted as a rule by the Romans for the large camp of a consular army, or for a small one, when practicable, in the open country, was not to be adopted on the hills, or when the exigencies of the case required it to be round. A square camp on a round hill would have been open to fatal objections. This is clearly pointed out by Vegetius in his treatise, *De Re Militari*, and quite coincides with what Mr. George V. Irving says of the camps of Lanarkshire, one example of which will be sufficient. He describes the fort of Bodsberry Hill, the last of the range of hills abutting on the Clyde.

"The top of the hill forms a flat plateau of considerable extent, the whole of which is occupied by the fortification, which consists of a single rampart; but on the north and north-west the hill slopes very gently, and this quarter of the camp is defended by a second rampart and ditch. As a military post, this is one of great strength and importance. The camp is certainly not a rectangle, but of an irregular form, and from this it may be urged that it is not a Roman fortification. But I think this is clearly rebutted by the fact that an undoubted Roman road leads directly into it; and we must not forget that it occupies the whole of the plateau, and that the attempt to inscribe a rectangle within the latter would have destroyed the security of the camp; because, had this been

done, the extreme suddenness and steepness of the descent would have enabled a light-armed enemy to have established himself in a perfect and secure cover within a few feet of the base of the rampart."

Of Roman military affairs, trustworthy accounts by Polybius, Frontinus, Hyginus, and others have come down to us as to the palmy days of Rome; but for the days of its decline we must fall back on the scattered notices of military affairs to be gleaned from historians, and from the military treatise of Vegetius, dedicated by him to the Emperor Valentinian II. If we divide Roman tactics, for our present purpose, into four periods, it will be seen that in the first three the normal model was herein formed which served in after times as the surest for imitation, though in effect the system was gradually falling to pieces through the preponderating influence of the northern nations from which the Roman armies had to be largely recruited.

The first period referred to introduces the highly scientific system by which the Romans fought their way to power up to the time of Julius Cæsar. In the second is seen the system pursued by his successors after he had conquered Gaul, invaded Britain and Germany, and brought the army into that state of discipline which enabled Clæudius, one hundred years later, with four legions to annex Britain, though not finally to subjugate it till forty years after. And what the defence must have been may be judged from the immense force, a double consular army, sent to ensure the conquest; and the skill of Frontinus, Vespasian, and Agricola, all masters in strategy and fortification, being necessary to accomplish it.

In the third period, though modified by the incorporation of many tribes into the empire, and certain elements of disorder which resulted from this innovation, yet the military system reached under Hadrian a very efficient stage, maintained through the age of the Antonines. A gradual reformation, followed by some relaxation of discipline, may afterwards be traced through the times of Septimius Severus and his sons, and for another hundred years to Diocletian.

In the fourth is witnessed a period of one hundred years, towards the end of which the decay of the old

Roman discipline culminated in the murder of the Emperor Gratian by the troops, and its final dissolution under Maximus, the Rutupian robber as he is styled by Ausonius.

Another hundred years of darkness ensued, without chroniclers, until the South Saxon kingdom in Sussex starts into being under Ella, the father of Cissa, in A.D. 447; and of this period also the history is very obscure.

The first period of Roman aggrandisement may be advantageously studied by us in reference to the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar, because the native tribes in Britain differed but little, as he tells us, from those in Gaul. His two invasions of Britain (made light of by historians as scarcely more than reconnaissances in force, without result, except to sow dissensions among the native tribes) facilitated the permanent occupation of the country by Claudius a hundred years later. Julius Cæsar had been assisted in these parts by one Commius, an Attrebatian, belonging to a tribe which occupied the country around Arras, in the province of Artois, but having influence with our Attrebates in Surrey, who were an offshoot of the tribe of the same name on the Continent, as were also the Belgæ in Hampshire and Somerset connected with a tribe of that name in the north of France, who are described by Cæsar as the most warlike of all the Gauls. Grand is the account of the final outbreak in Gaul, when the various tribes united, as a last effort, under Vercingetorix, to shake off the Roman yoke. In Cæsar's eighth campaign, 80,000 Gaulish men were assembled in the camp of Alesia, in Auvergne; and here the great Cæsar lost his sword, which was suspended as a trophy in one of the temples of the Arverni. The great camp of Alesia may be compared with our Cissbury Hill; but the defeat of the Gauls was a lesson not lost upon Cogidunus, who submitted with a good grace, and remained firm in the Roman alliance.

The discourse on Wednesday evening, by Dr. Birch, on the coins of the Britons in Sussex, before and after their conquest, throws much light on British history, the interest in which has been greatly heightened by visiting some strongholds of the native tribes, and particularly Cissbury and Bramber.

I may here introduce a correction of some general assumptions founded on Cæsar's words about British camps. What he says has been quoted to show that all the camps of the Britons were formed in woods, defended by stockades and marshes, behind which they guarded their families and their cattle. Cæsar had little other experience of British camps; he knew them only in the woodland country to which he penetrated on his second invasion. His successors, to their cost, found British camps on hills where there were no woods, and British fortresses of stone in stone countries where this material was less scarce than timber.<sup>1</sup>

Julius Cæsar's description of a Gaulish fortress shows a skill in carpentry and fortification, which was probably shared by the kindred tribes of the Attrebates and Belgæ in Britain, among whom there was certainly no scarcity of timber, and their skill in fortification generally is amply attested by the same authority. Claudius made use of a native Prince in the same way that Julius Cæsar had done; but the patriotism of Commius caused him afterwards to betray the Roman cause, whereas Cogidunus was loyal to the last. Claudius secured the influence of Cogidunus, who was a chief or king of the Regni, a tribe occupying this county of Sussex, by giving up to him certain communities to govern as a King. Bericus was another chief who assisted Claudius according to Dion's account, but of him we know as little as of the other, who is only once named by Tacitus; this is all we hear of him except in the probable mention of the name of Cogidunus in a mutilated inscription found two hundred years ago at the Barberini Palace at Rome, but which has disappeared—though there seems no reason to doubt its genuineness—and that found in 1723 at Chichester, defective and broken into four pieces, which was described by Roger Gale in the *Philosophical Transactions* of that year, vol. xxxii, page 391. He then was

<sup>1</sup> No antiquary has taken more pains to investigate these British *oppida* than Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., and I may refer to his last interesting accounts of two of them, that of Old Winchester, in the parish of Meon Stoke, Hants (described in vol. xl of the *Journal*, p. 227), and that of Tunorbury, a circular entrenchment in Hayling, also in the adjoining county (described in p. 420 of the same volume).



chief or king of the Regni; and as the camps of the Romans were interspersed among the settlements of the native communities, and not unfrequently occupied positions formerly held by the British chiefs, a few words shall first be said upon these *civitates* or communities of the native inhabitants, which, under Roman rule appear to have had their own government subject to the control of *consulares* and *præsides*, who were always pure Romans. Julius Cæsar refers to these communities, with interesting particulars concerning them, as well as Tacitus, and when Roman rule in Britain expired they seemed to have held their own as so many independent republics.

The thirty-three *civitates* of Nennius represent probably the number of those states into which Britain was divided. In Gaul, the country was occupied by 115 such *civitates*, and the name of the tribe survived as a new name to their chief towns, as that of the Bellovaci surviving in Beauvais, Ambiani in Amiens, Parisii in Paris, Attrebates in Arras, Suessiones in Soissons, Veneti in Vannes, and many others.

The invasion of Britain by Aulus Plautius and Cneius Sentius in A.D. 43 was made at three ports, which are not named, though it is probable they were the three ports in Kent known to the Romans by the invasion of Julius Cæsar. They had a friend in Cogidunus occupying Sussex, and therefore the Emperor, on his arrival in Britain the year following, was free to attack the Trinobantes, and cross the Thames, making his way to Camulodunum, formerly the stronghold of the powerful Cunobelin, and now defended by his gallant sons. The whole country was afterwards subdued and pacified, though not without much fighting; and the episodes of Caractacus and Boadicea rival in bravery and perseverance the energetic resistance of the Gaulish chieftains. The progress of Roman conquest seems pretty clearly indicated by the facts without being very clearly given by historians, through loss of a great portion of their works. Kent was conquered, and Sussex in the hands of a tributary king or client. Then two very powerful nations were subdued, which I should take to be the Attrebates in Surrey, who in the time of Cæsar had captured and



imprisoned his ally Commius; secondly, the Belgians, whose territory in Hampshire extended across to Somerset and to the sea, which looks out upon Ireland, the Romans thus securing their first province, which they named *Britannia Prima*. They would then have had access to Wales, which, after the capture of Caractacus, became *Britannia Secunda*. Without troubling you with the history of Roman Britain, I will endeavour to follow its general course in Sussex by some observations on the military camps and civilian homesteads.

We are looking northwards to the Downs, which separate, as it were, the extensive tract of Sussex between them and the sea from the Weald of Sussex, or great forest of Anderida, on the other side of the hills. The strong fortress of Pevensey defended Roman territory on the east, its walls, of immense thickness, being still entire; and the fortified city of Chichester guarded the country on the west, with its impregnable outwork, the Broyle, towards the north. From both these places Roman roads ran in nearly a straight line to London. The road from Chichester has been traced through nearly its whole course, passing close to Bignor and through Hardham Camp, near Pulborough and Billingshurst; it then leaves Ockley, in Surrey, a little to the eastward, and makes its way by Dorking and Tooting to Stone Street, near London Bridge. The other road, from Pevensey, does not appear to have been traced throughout, but is supposed by the Rev. Beale Post to have had its egress from Pevensey by Hallsham and Holwood Hill, through Uckfield and Ashdown Forest to Hartfield. Thence by Cowden, Edenbridge, and Westerham to Tiston and London. According to this course it would have passed about two and a half miles to the east of a large camp at Lingfield Mark, enclosing within its ramparts  $26\frac{1}{4}$  acres of ground.

The part of Sussex between the two strongholds of Pevensey on the one side and Chichester on the other was occupied by a tribe called by Ptolemy *Πήγγοι*, whose name has been thought possibly derived from *Πηγμῖς*, a sea-beach on which the sea breaks. If this is so, the word well describes the nature of this coast, having few harbours, and these not very safe or accessible. Cissbury Hill would be just such a position, in the centre

of a district, as the Romans would have given to be governed by a tributary king, taking care that he was well watched by their own strong and commanding positions. For this reason I think they would rather have located Cogidunus at Cissbury than at Chichester. From this centre the tributary king, by occupying High-Down (a camp near the Miller's tomb), and perhaps the neighbouring fortified hills, which may have been previously in the hands of British chiefs, would command the district and be a useful ally of the Romans to defend a difficult sea-coast against predatory attacks by natives who were conversant with every creek and harbour. An ancient British canoe, formed from an oak-tree, was found embedded in the mud of a creek of the Arun at Burpham, and near it an anchor made of wood. These are preserved in the museum at Lewes Castle.

Other camp-hills may have been yielded to him, as Chanctonbury Ring and North Stoke, connected with Burpham for the defence of the Valley of the Arun, and possibly some of the forts near the coast, such as the Devil's Dyke, near Brighton. Under the circumstances, we might expect the Romans to keep in their own possession the controlling fortifications all round, of which the following are the most important, beginning with Beltout, on the verge of the cliff where the lighthouse stands, near Beachy Head; then the important encampment at Seaford, enclosing twelve acres, and Newhaven, about six acres. A station of *exploratores*, or advanced outpost of patrols, pioneers, or spies, probably indicates the westerly limit of Roman occupation on this side of the coast, and this is placed in the *Notitia* at the *Portus Adurni*, which, if not at Shoreham, was wherever the mouth of the river Adur then was. It is now generally considered to have been at Portslade, the name indicating the outlet of the port. In the middle distance, Mount Caburn, near Lewes, if a British stronghold in its origin, has unmistakable traces of Roman occupation; then Whitehawk Hill, at the Brighton racecourse, with its triple vallum, has been an important work, but its area is rather undefined through obliteration of the boundaries; next follows Hollingbury, with double vallum and very high ramparts, covering an area of about six acres.

From hence an ascent is to be made to Ditchling, one of the line of forts on the Downs, placed at an elevation of 858 feet above the sea-level. This important position has an old Roman *via* leading up to it, and covers an area of about twelve or fourteen acres. General Pitt-Rivers says "it is of a somewhat quadrangular form, but does not appear to have the regularity of a Roman camp, the sides being slightly curved. The north side is secured by the declivity of the hill, which is very abrupt. A gentle slope falls from the other faces on every side."

Chanctonbury is another camp on the Downs, at an elevation of 622 feet above the sea-level. I will also give his description of this camp: "Like Mount Caburn, it stands at the apex of an obtuse angle formed by the bend of a ridge of the Downs; the entrenchment is circular, about 140 yards in diameter; the declivity is very abrupt only on the north side. On both sides of the work, to the south-east and to the west, an outwork cuts across the neck of the hill. These outworks are analogous to those at Wolstonbury. The entrance to the main entrenchment is on the eastern side; it is covered at fifty paces distance by three circles, with slight depressions in the centres, resembling those outside the gateway at Mount Caburn Mounds, which have the appearance of tumuli, I suppose, from their situation to form part of the fortifications of the place. In the case of Chanctonbury, the outworks may very possibly have been intended to cover the communication with the supply of water, for at the bottom of the valley on the south there is a deep hole, now partly filled up, which can hardly have been dug for any other purpose than that of containing water; for, although it is unlikely it should ever have been a well, from the great depth it would have been necessary to bore to obtain water, yet, situated as it is, at the junction of two coombes, it may very likely have been intended to collect the surface-drainage from the surrounding heights, and, being in command of the outworks on the summit, easy access could always be had to it from the fort. I found a quantity of flint-flakes within the enclosure; some of them have marks of secondary chipping."

General Pitt-Rivers, in a note, says that he found

Roman tiles in the advanced circles during the excavations; and he has had information by Mr. Goring, the proprietor, of the existence of an ancient well, probably constructed by the Romans, coins of which people of a late date were found in great numbers when planting the enclosure. At the higher level again is Wolstonbury Camp, about three miles to the west of Ditchling Beacon, communicating thence with Hollingbury. "It is of circular form, about 250 yards in diameter. The ditch is everywhere inside the parapet. The interior is filled with pits, evidently the remains of habitations. To the south-east of the fort, at about 300 yards from it, a line of parapet, with the ditch on the outside, viz., to the south-east, runs across the neck of the hill which joins this spur to the main chain of the Downs. This is evidently an outwork." Mr. R. W. Blenkowe announces that flints and bronze celts and Roman coins have been found in Wolstonbury. Traces of a Roman villa have also been discovered near Hurstpierpoint, in the meadows to the north.

On the western side of the supposed dominions of Cogidunus is a large camp, St. Roche's Hill, northward of Goodwood Park, having a double vallum, and enclosing about twelve acres. The whole system of forts, answering one to the other, and within easy distance, display a scientific arrangement such as could hardly have been planned by any but the Romans when masters of the whole surrounding country. They would never have allowed a position such as Ditchling to be held by a native chieftain. Wolstonbury and Hollingbury would also be necessary to form a line of communication with Newhaven, Seaford, and Pevensey; and on the other side, the possession of the large camp at St. Roche's Hill was essential as an advanced fort to Chichester. Newhaven, Hollingbury, and Wolstanbury are all of about the same size, that is of six acres, and capable of containing a cohort of 480 men, with their contingent of cavalry, auxiliaries, and baggage. The other Roman camps named are each about double the size of these, and some larger. The positions of these various camps relatively to each other can be accurately traced on the new series of ordnance maps, lately issued.



In the earlier stages of discipline, the greatest care was given to the choice of recruits, that they should be of proper age, well made in every respect, and, soon after joining, they were to be experienced in the exercises of the camp, by running, wrestling, swimming, and the use of arms; so that the real *vallum*, or rampart of the camp, was the wall of armed men which no enemy could either daunt or put to rout. Still the ramparts were to be attended to; a temporary encampment was constructed, of course less durably than one intended for permanence, such as Hollingbury. The ditch around was to be 9, 11, or 13 feet wide, or, if a powerful attack was expected, it was extended to 17 or 19, an uneven number of feet being given to the foss. Then a *vallum* was erected of posts and cross timbers to keep up the earth; a *prætorium* for the commanding officer was built up in the centre, facing the prætorian gate. The centuries of legionaries, the cavalry and auxiliaries, were located in tents pitched in the intervals of the road leading from the gates, and an ample space was allowed between the *vallum* and the tents for free circulation, and for piling up the arms and ammunition. Each tent, with a proper space between them, was to contain ten men, but as some from each would be always absent on patrol duty, there would never be so many at one time in each, nor would it have been convenient, as the tents were only ten feet square. A century of eighty men would take eight tents, and two more for the centurion.

The regulations given for the numerous officials who assist in the direction of a camp, for procuring water, wood, for repairs of the arms and the works, and the innumerable offices which had to be attended to, are given in minute detail by Roman military writers, as well as the kind of arms used by officers, men, and the corps of archers, slingers, and those who projected stones. Many of these details certainly seem to apply rather to camps thrown up during a campaign than to stationary camps, in which we may naturally suppose that substantial huts would take the place of skin tents, and with more accommodation for the soldier, particularly as such excellent materials for walls were here at hand in the flints and chalk from which to make mortar. The direc-



tions given by Vegetius for supplying the camp with water, and when this had to be procured from the outside, for placing forts to protect the water at its source, are very explicit, and agree exactly with the defences for the same purpose described by General Pitt-Rivers as existing outside Chanctonbury Ring and Wolstanbury. Vegetius, in another portion of his work, gives an answer to a soldier who made this remark, "But it is many years since a foss, or a mound, or a *vallum* defended any permanently encamped army!" "Yes; but if such precautions had been taken no incursions of the enemy either by day or night would have hurt us." This seems to suggest that in the time of Gratian and Valentinian II the camps were no longer permanently occupied, but were simply used as places of muster, whither the native inhabitants, in case of a sudden invasion, could assemble; and where, in some cases, they seem to have levelled down the earth into two or three different stages, one above the other, as in that camp we saw at Brownslade, near Tenby, last year, and thus, by the commanding position over an attacking force, could overwhelm it with arrows, stone, and leaden missiles. The terraces cut in several of the camps on the Downs seem to me to owe their origin to a similar period of warfare; nor can I bring myself to believe they were intended to be planted as vineyards, a theory which has been suggested. These terraces are seen at Mount Caburn on the southern slopes, and at Cissbury, at Telscombe, Seaford, Lullington, and other places on the Downs.

In the third phase of Roman discipline the number of real Roman citizens was constantly growing less, and the legions had to be recruited from the natives, who by degrees outnumbered the old Roman element, for though they might still on their shields carry the emblem of their legion and number of their cohort, the old spirit was waning, and donatives had to be given to supply its place. In the fourth phase the army showed its dislike altogether to the Roman government by electing its own *imperator*, as in the case of Carausius and Allectus, and ultimately Ælla and Cissa acquired a perfectly independent government. The inhabitants were not always at war, and in this district, and all the way up to Ditchling Beacon, there are evidences of a large rural population;

their enclosures for cattle being very apparent in the earthen embankments which, being low, were probably surmounted by hurdles or a fence, and such enclosures would be placed for convenience rather in coombes or dells than on the tops of hills. When an invasion by sea was at hand, the neighbouring communities would assemble in the camps, escarped as above described; and this may apply to the period preceding the Saxon dynasty in the latter part of the fifth century, and up to the time of the Danish attacks. In the later Saxon times, that is, in the reign of Alfred, a raised mound or keep seems to have been adopted within the camp, which was often artificial, a sort of *arc* or citadel to fly to when the outer works had been forced. Of this there is probably an instance at Bramber. The setting up of Odinism, or Wodenism, under the pagan Saxon dynasty of Ælla and Cissa, will account for the great number of large stones scattered all over the country we have been visiting; but they are seen no longer *in situ*, either in lines or circles, or built up into cromlechs, as in other parts. It is probable that the Christian Saxon kings and the faithful followers of Bishop Wilfrith would cause such monuments to be destroyed and used for building or road-making, or to serve as boundary stones. As such they often do duty in fields at the present time.

It is necessary to note these various facts before looking a little more closely into the construction of Hollingbury Camp. When the wall of men became more feeble, the wall of earth had to be strengthened, and often another was added outside, as in the cases we have seen most open to attack. The *porta prætorica* used to face the enemy at the point where an attack might be expected, and the *porta decumana* was in the rear, through which the commissariat arrangements were carried on. In this camp the prætorian gate seems to have been closed up; the decuman is open, and two entrances 55 yards apart are on the east, and the same on the west sides. From these gates streets were laid out in a straight line, and the tents or huts were pitched in the intervening spaces, which would thus be easily accessible from all parts of the camp. In the old times the superior officers' quarters were about the prætorian gate, between it and the *prætorium*, and the tents of the cohorts or centuries of

Roman citizens were placed around. There are signs here of the third period referred to, when the archers seem to have taken a prominent place. Vegetius tells us that the legionaries in the time of Gratian would no longer wear a helmet as formerly, finding it too heavy, but were content to keep only to the fur cap, which used to be worn under the helmet to protect the head. He attributes also great importance to the exercise of shooting arrows and hurling javelins, and other missiles, by the young recruits. A post fixed in the ground was to be made the mark against which they were to discharge their spears and arrows for practice. In this latter branch nearly a third or a fourth part of the youth were to be well skilled and taught by competent masters, so that whether on horseback or on foot they might by a combination of the eye and the mind unerringly hit the mark. The practice also of hurling stones, both by hand as well as by slings, is to be learnt; for there is no labour in carrying a sling, and it sometimes happens that in strong places a mountain or hill has to be defended, which can best be done by this means. How suitable was this mode of defence for the Sussex Hill forts, and their defenders needed a good supply of arrow-heads.

A few words may be said of the objects discovered within the area of Hollingbury, though it does not appear that extensive or systematic excavations have yet been made. In the descriptive catalogue of Dr. Mantell's Museum (1836), mention is made of four bronze armillæ, a circlet or torque, and a celt (figured in a woodcut), discovered a few years since beneath a low mound of earth within the encampment of Hollingbury Hill. These are presumably the same as exhibited by Dr. Mantell to the Society of Antiquaries on February 27th, 1840 (*Arch.*, vol. xxix, p. 372). The fire beacon erected here during the last Continental war probably continued a system of signals which had been used from hill to hill since Roman times. The Brighton town fire-cage, situated to the east of the Steyne Valley used to raise the first signal of alarm; this was taken up by the tower beacon, situated to the west of the Old Church; then Hollingbury beacon blazed up, and thence the signal was conveyed to Ditchling beacon, and all over the lower land of the Weald. This beacon served also to warn Lewes.

NOTICES OF THE SHAKESPEARE RARITIES  
PRESERVED AT HOLLINGBURY COPSE,  
AND EXHIBITED TO THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION, 22ND AUGUST 1885.

BY J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, ESQ., V.P., F.R.S., ETC.

THE Shakespeare collection at Hollingbury Copse includes numerous early manuscripts and books that refer to the literary history of the great dramatist; but its main feature is the largest assemblage that has ever been formed of objects that illustrate his biography. The latter alone, consisting of more than fifteen hundred separate articles, would require the disposal of a week or more for a studious examination.

The following pages contain merely notices of the few articles in the collection that for some years past have been usually shown to visitors, and which have been selected from those that are likely to be of the most general interest.

No. 1.—The engraving here shown is a proof copy of the Droeshout portrait of 1623, and is the only likeness of Shakespeare in existence which has come down to us in an original, unaltered state.

No other copy of the engraving, in this reliable state, has yet been discovered; the only ones in all other libraries being those taken from a retouched plate, an example of an impression of which will be seen on the left. The latter is one of the only three impressions known of the title-page of the edition of 1632, before the spelling of the word *coppies* was altered; a circumstance which, though apparently trivial, is of value as showing that it includes one of the earliest impressions from the plate after it had been used for the first folio.

The following observations upon this proof-engraving are from the pen of the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A.:—  
“The portrait, in this state of the engraving, is remarkable for clearness of tone; the shadows being very delicately rendered, so that the light falls upon the muscles



of the face with a softness not to be found in the ordinary impressions. This is particularly visible in the arch under the eye, and in the muscles of the mouth : the expression of the latter is much altered in the later states of the plate by the enlargement of the up-turned moustache, which hides and destroys the true character of this part of the face. The whole of the shadows have been darkened by cross-hatching and coarse dotting, particularly on the chin. This gives a coarse and undue prominence to some parts of the portrait, the forehead particularly. In this early state of the plate the hair is darker than any of the shadows on the head, and flows softly and naturally. In the retouched plate the shadow is much darker than the roots of the hair, imparting a swelled look to the head, and giving the hair the appearance of a raised wig. It is remarkable that no shadow falls across the collar. This omission, and the generally low tone of colour in the engraving, may have induced the retouching and strengthening which have injured the true character of the likeness, which in its original state is far more worthy of Ben Jonson's commendatory lines."

The late Mr. William Smith, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, whose knowledge of early engraving was unrivalled, thus wrote to me in reference to a suggestion that the variations were caused by an accident to the plate :—"I was unwilling to answer your note until I had made another careful examination of your engraving, as well as of the very fine impression in the usual state which we have recently purchased for the National Portrait Gallery. This I have now done, and I can find no traces of any damage whatever. I fully believe that, on what is technically termed proving the plate, it was thought that much of the work was so delicate as not to allow of a sufficient number of impressions being printed. Droeshout might probably have refused to spoil his work, and it was retouched by an inferior and coarser engraver."

Believing this proof-engraving to be the most authentic portrait of Shakespeare in existence, it has long been my wish to offer the public an accurate copy of it. All attempts, however, at a faithful reproduction, either on wood or by photography, have at present miserably



failed ; while the process the most likely to be effective, line-engraving, appears to be all but a lost art. Further advice on the subject will be gratefully considered.

No. 2.—The original conveyance to Shakespeare of the house in the Blackfriars that he purchased in the year 1613 ; made “ betweene Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell of London, and William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the countie of Warwick, gentleman.” Quite perfect, and in a beautiful state of preservation.

This is the identical deed which was enrolled in Chancery, having the original official endorsement ; and it is one of the very few articles in existence which can be positively stated to have been in the hands of the great dramatist. It was for many years one of the most prominent treasures of the Sainsbury collection.

No. 3.—The original deed transferring the legal estate of the house last mentioned, 10 February 1617-18, in trust, to follow the directions of Shakespeare’s will, subject only to the remaining term of a lease granted by the poet to one John Robinson. It appears from an endorsement that this deed was handed over at the time to Susanna Hall, the poet’s daughter.

No. 4.—A copy of the first collective edition of the dramatic works of Shakespeare, 1623, containing misprints which indicate the priority of the impression. Thus, on the second column of p. 172 of the Histories, at line 13, *and* is misprinted *add* ; and in the second line following, *tis* instead of *kiss* ; the correct readings being found in all other copies excepting in one in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere, mentioned by Mr. Aldis Wright in the Cambridge Shakespeare, v. 342. These variations are, of course, of no value in themselves, but they are of importance as evidences of the careful revision of the text that was made by the printers of this remarkable volume.

No. 5.—An original deed with the very rare signature of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, the individual who owes his celebrity to his inconsiderate treatment of the youth who was afterwards to be the national dramatist of England. This indenture was executed in December, 17 Elizabeth, 1574, and it bears also the signatures of Sir Thomas’ two brothers, Timothy and Edward.

No. 6.—An original deed of conveyance granted by the

Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's friend and patron, with a fine specimen of his autograph signature. It refers to property at Romsey, near Southampton, and it was executed by the Earl in the year 1603, a few weeks after his release from his imprisonment in the Tower of London.

No. 7.—A paper in the handwriting of the Rev. Joseph Greene, Master of the Grammar School of Stratford-on-Avon, 1767, containing the only account of Shakespeare's residence of New Place that has been recorded, from the spoken words of a person who had actually seen the building, one Richard Grimmitt, who was born at Stratford in January 1683, and who "said he in his youth had been a playfellow with Edward Clopton, senior, eldest son of Sir John Clopton, Knt., and had been often with him in the great house near the Chapel in Stratford, call'd New Place; that, to the best of his remembrance, there was a brick wall next the street, with a kind of porch at that end of it next the Chapel, when they cross'd a small kind of green court before they enter'd the house, which was bearing to the left, and fronted with brick, with plain windows consisting of common panes of glass set in lead."

No. 8.—"*Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury, being the second part of Wits Commonwealth*, by Francis Meres, Maister of Artes of both Universities. At London, Printed by P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie, and are to be sold at his shop at the Royall Exchange, 1598." Opened at the pages containing the earliest list of Shakespeare's works known to exist, including "his sugred Sonnets among his private friends", etc.

No. 9.—"*Poems written by Wil. Shake-speare, gent.*," 12mo., 1640, with the original engraved portrait of the author by Marshall.

No. 10.—"*England's Parnassus, or the choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets, with their Poeticall Comparisons, descriptions of Bewties, etc.*" 8vo. 1600. Opened at p. 192, where there are extracts from *Venus and Adonis* and from *Romeo and Juliet*. There are numerous other quotations from Shakespeare in the same volume.

No. 11.—"*Select Observations on English Bodies, or Cures both Empiricall and Historicall performed upon very eminent Persons in Desperate Diseases*. Written in Latine by Mr. John Hall, physician, living at Stratford-

upon-Avon in Warwickshire." 12mo. Lond., 1657. The first and very rare edition of the cases attended to by Shakespeare's son-in-law.

No. 12.—Visscher's View of London, engraved in the early part of the reign of Charles I. The volume contains a complete impression of the View, the portion shown being that which gives a representation in the foreground of the second Globe Theatre, the house at which Shakespeare's plays were frequently represented in and after the year 1614.

No. 13.—An original deed executed in the year 1605, with the rare autograph, as a witness, of Francis Collyns, who was also one of the witnesses to Shakespeare's will, and the poet's solicitor.

No. 14.—Golding's translation of Ovid, 1567, one of the few books that can be positively asserted to have been at least partially read by Shakespeare, several passages from it being adopted in *The Tempest*.

No. 15.—"*A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called Loves Labors Lost*, as it was presented before Queen Elizabeth in the Christmas holidays, 1597." 4to. Lond., 1598. Of great rarity, only five other copies being known. This is the first publication of any of Shakespeare's works in which his name appears as the author on the title-page.

No. 16.—"*The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two houses, Lancaster and Yorke*, as it was sundry times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his servantes. Printed at London, 1600." This is the second edition of the surreptitious copy of the Third Part of *Henry VI*. Only six copies known.

No. 17.—The First Part of "*The True and Honourable History of the Life of Sir John Oldecastle, the good Lord Cobham*. Written by William Shakespeare." 4to. 1600. A play impudently ascribed by the publisher to the great dramatist, an evidence of the early commercial value of his name.

No. 18.—Lilly's "*Shorte Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used, compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intende to attaine the knowledge of the Latine Tongue*." 4to. Lond., 1568.

An impression which is either unique or of very extreme rarity, being unnoticed by all the bibliographers. It is, in all probability, the edition that was in use at the Stratford Grammar School when Shakespeare was gathering his "little Latin and less Greek" at that establishment. That the great dramatist had imbibed something from this book is clear from his quoting a line from Terence in the form in which it is given in this volume, not in that in which it appears in the work of the ancient poet.

No. 19.—"*Microcosmos, the Discovery of the Little World, with the Government thereof.*" By John Davies. 4to. Oxford, 1603. Opened at the page containing the curious allusions to Shakespeare and Burbage; the identification proved by their initials on the margin.

No. 20.—"*The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke (Mortlake), with the Life and simple manner of John in the Hospitall.*" Written by Robert Armin, Shakespeare's colleague, 1609. The woodcut on the title-page is one of the few pictorial examples that we have of the stage-costume of Shakespeare's time. Only four other copies known.

No. 21.—"*An Apology for Actors, containing three briefe Treatises.*" Written by Thomas Heywood. 4to. 1612. Opened at the postscript containing Heywood's interesting note respecting the attribution to Shakespeare of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and the annoyance that its publication inflicted on the latter.

No. 22.—"*Colin Clouts Come Home Again.*" By Ed. Spencer. 4to. London. Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1595. Opened at the page containing the interesting allusion to Shakespeare.

No. 23.—"*The Raigne of King Edward the Third, as it hath bene sundry times played about the Citie of London.* Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford for Cuthbert Burby, and are to be sold at his shop neere the Royall Exchange. 1599." A play generally believed to have been revised by Shakespeare.

No. 24.—"*A pleasant and fine Conceited Comedie taken out of the most excellent witty poet Plautus, chosen purposely from out the rest as least harmefull and yet most delightfull.* Written in English by W. W." 4to. Lond.,



1595. There is no evidence that Shakespeare ever saw this production ; but Collier may be right in conjecturing that its publication was suggested through the popularity of *The Comedy of Errors*. Only two other copies known.

No. 25.—A volume of collections by the Rev. Joseph Greene, Master of the Grammar School of Stratford-on-Avon, 1731-1771, respecting the monumental effigy of Shakespeare, and the “repairing” of it in the year 1748. Opened at a page containing an interesting letter on the last mentioned subject.

No. 26.—“*The first Booke of Ayres, or little short Songs to sing and play to the Lute, with the base Viole*. Newly published by Thomas Morley, Bachiler of Musicke, and one of the gent. of her Majesties Royal Chappell. fol. Imprinted at London in Litle S. Helen’s by William Barley, 1600.” Opened at the pages which contain the original music to the song, “It was a lover and his lass”, in *As You Like It*. The present is the only copy of this work known to exist.

No. 27.—“*The Auncient Historie of the Destruction of Troy*, containing the founders and foundation of the said Citie, besides many admirable and most rare exployts of chivalrie and martiall prowesse, with incredible events compassed for and through the love of ladies.” 4to. London. Printed by Thomas Creede, 1596.

This is the edition which was used by Shakespeare for a portion of the story of Troilus and Cressida. Only one other copy known.

No. 28.—“*The history of Tom Drum’s vaunts, and his rare entertainment at Mistress Farmer’s house, the faire widow of Fleete Streete*. A chapter from Deloney’s *Historie of the Gentle Craft*. 1598.” Alluded to in *All’s Well that Ends Well*. No other copy known.

No. 29.—A manuscript volume of poetical miscellanies of the time of Charles I, opened at a page containing the following hitherto unpublished version of the lines on John a Combe, attributed to Shakespeare :

“Ten in th’ hundred by the lawes you may have,  
But twenty in th’ hundred the divel doth crave.  
If any ask who lyes in this tomb,  
Baw, wough, quoth the divel, ’tis my John a Coom.”



There is this to be said in favour of the authenticity of the present version, that the legal rate of interest in Shakespeare's time was ten per cent. It was not reduced until some years after his death (Stat. 21 Jac. I, c. 17); but at the same time it is not at all necessary to believe that the attribution of the authorship is correct.

No. 30.—“*The Battell of Alcazar fought in Barbarie betweene Sebastian, King of Portugall, and Abdelmelec, King of Marocco.*” 4to. Lond., 1594. This is one of the very few contemporary plays that are distinctly quoted by Shakespeare.

No. 31.—A fragment of four leaves only, but unique, no other vestige of a copy having yet been discovered, of the first edition of the first part of *The Hystorie of Henry the Fourth*, 1598. Opened at the page, the last line of which is the only existing record of the true reading in Poins' speech, “How the *fat* rogue roar'd!” It is something, at this late day, to recover even one lost word of the immortal text.

No. 32.—“*An Heptameron of Civill Discourses, containing the Christmasse Exercise of sundry well-courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen.*” 4to. Lond., 1582. This work includes the foundation-story of *Measure for Measure*, by the author of the play next mentioned.

No. 33.—“*The right excellent and famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra, wherein is showne the unsufferable abuse of a lewde Magistrate, the vertuous behaviours of a chaste Ladye, etc.*” 1578. This is the play whence Shakespeare derived the plot of *Measure for Measure*. Only three other copies known.

No. 34.—“*Timbre de Cardone ende Fenicie van Messine.*” A Dutch play on the story of *Much Ado about Nothing*, acted in Holland in the year 1618, with a wood-engraving of one of the scenes.

No. 35.—A manuscript volume of poetical miscellanies, compiled by Matthew Day, Mayor of Windsor, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Opened at a page containing verses entitled “Shakespeare on the King.”

No. 36.—“*England's Helicon.*” 4to. London, 1600. Opened at a page containing a version of lines in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

No. 37.—“*Vincentio Salviolo his Practise.* In two

Bookes. The first intreating of the use of the Rapier and Dagger. The second of Honor and honorable Quarrels." 4to. London. Printed by John Wolfe, 1595. This book is alluded to by Touchstone in *As You Like It*. "O, sir, we quarrel in print, by the book", etc.

No. 38.—A manuscript of *The Return from Parnassus*, "as it was acted in St. John's Colledge in Cambridge, anno 1602." This is the only manuscript of the time of Elizabeth, in a private library, in which any of the works of Shakespeare are mentioned. It is of great interest and literary value as the record of a more accurate text than the hitherto only known early copy, the edition of 1606. The title in the manuscript is *The Progresse to Parnassus*, the reason for the adoption of either title being obscure.

No. 39.—The printed edition of the drama last mentioned, 1606. Opened at the page which contains the notice of Shakespeare.

No. 40.—An original family deed of 1596, executed in the presence of John Shakespeare, the poet's father, whose name is there spelt *Shaxpere*.

No. 41.—An original trust-deed with the signature of Shakespeare Hart, great-grandson of the poet's sister. He spells his name most oddly, *Shaxpeer Hart*,—a curious evidence of the local pronunciation of the first name. There are several examples of his signature at Stratford-on-Avon, but this is probably the only one in private hands.

No. 42.—Norden's plan of London (1593), showing the Rose Theatre, the only regular one then on the south of the Thames, and that in which Shakespeare's earliest dramas were produced. This plan gives a more accurate idea than any other of the metropolis as it existed in the poet's time.

No. 43.—"*The merry conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver*", an old droll made up from the comic portions of *The Midsummer Night's Dream*.

No. 44.—An original sketch, by Richard Greene of Lichfield, of the exterior of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Stratford-on-Avon, with the ancient wooden spire that was removed in the year 1763. Believed to be the earliest drawing of the church known to exist.

No. 45.—A play-bill of the time of William III, announcing a performance of Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*

on October the 28th, 1697. This is the earliest authentic play-bill of a Shakespearean character known to exist.

Play-bills, or “billes for players”, as they are termed in the *Stationers’ Registers* for 1587, were in ordinary use throughout the time of Shakespeare; but none earlier than the time of William III are known to be in existence. Even any of the latter are of extreme rarity. The names of actors do not appear to have been inserted in play-bills before the time of George II.

No. 46.—“The Murder of Thomas à Becket”, one of the mural paintings formerly on the walls of the Guild Chapel, Stratford-on-Avon. An original drawing by Fisher.

All Fisher’s original drawings are in this collection, and are of considerable interest, the published engravings not being accurate copies.

No. 47.—A case containing early quarto editions of the plays of Shakespeare, 1600 to 1655.

No. 48.—There has not been a single article hitherto named, the genuineness of which can be rationally questioned; but in the case of the piece of glass bearing this



number, a doubt of authenticity may fairly be raised in the absence of a perfect chain of evidence in favour of its assumed history. So much deception has been practised

in advancing the claims of Shakespearean relics that it is impossible to be too cautious in investigating the testimonies by which those claims are supported. All that is known about the present one may thus be briefly stated.

This bit of glass was thus first publicly mentioned in Fairholt's *Home of Shakespeare* (1847), p. 27 : "There is an apparently genuine relic of New Place at present (1847) in the possession of the Court family, who own Shakespeare's house. It is a square of glass, measuring 9 inches by 7, in which a circular piece is leaded, having the letters w. a. s. (for William and Anne Shakespeare) tied in a true lover's knot ; and the date 1615, the year before the poet's death, beneath. A relative of the late Mrs. Court, whose ancestor had been employed to pull down New Place, had saved this square of glass, but attached little value to it. He gave it to her ; but she had an honest dislike to the many pretenders to relics, and never showed this glass unless it was expressly requested by the few who had heard of it. She told her story simply, made no comments, and urged no belief. The letters and figures are certainly characteristic ; they are painted in dark brown outline, tinted with yellow ; the border is also yellow. The lead is decayed, and the glass loose."

The late Mr. Fairholt, one of the best judges in such matters that ever lived, was of a decided opinion that the glass is a genuine work of art of the Shakespearean period. If so, it may be taken for granted that it is an authentic Stratford relic ; for it is incredible that any one should have pounced elsewhere upon a glass with the three desirable initials, brought it from a distance into the town, and then invented a New Place story, without a commercial or any other sort of intelligible object. But how came the piece of glass to be in the possession of the tenant of the Birth-Place ? An explanation has recently presented itself in a passage in a manuscript compiled in the year 1796, and now in the Bodleian (MS. Malone, 40). The writer, after mentioning the Clopton painted glass, which, as is well known, was taken by Shakespeare Hart from the Chapel (amongst other refuse from alterations that had been ordered in that building), and inserted in a window of the Birth-Place, says "there are several

more scraps of painted glass dispersed in other windows of the said premises."

Now when New Place was pulled down, in the year 1701, Shakespeare Hart was at all events the leading, if not the only, glazier in the town; and it is most likely, if the New Place glass is correctly so designated, that it had been inserted by him in a Birth-Place window, remaining there till 1796; getting afterwards into Mrs. Court's hands through some alteration or repairs in the window in which it had been placed,—a more likely hypothesis than her statement as recorded by Fairholt, and perhaps misunderstood by him. There is thus somewhat more than a possibility of its genuineness as a Shakespearean relic; but it is unlikely that evidence leading to a decisive opinion will now ever be accessible. Unless, however, its genuineness as a work of art of the year 1615 be disputed,—and no suspicion in this direction has yet transpired,—even the few known details of its history appear to be explicable only on the assumption that it is a genuine relic of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway.

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## THE LEGENDARY LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

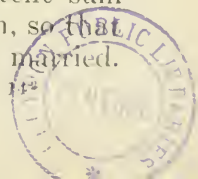
BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read 17 March 1886.*)

ST. NICHOLAS, the Confessor, Archbishop of Myra, has an especial interest in the eyes of the British Archæological Association, as we heard a great deal of scattered information about the biography of this celebrated Saint during the recent Congress of the Association at Brighton, in connection with the sculptures on the font of the parish church, of which one, as I maintained at that time, was wrongly attributed to the representation of a marriage ceremony.

His acts were published, about A.D. 912, by Metaphrastes, and have been translated. Other acts, shorter and imperfect, but somewhat earlier, are also known; and in the appendix to this paper I have been enabled to print two Latin Lives of St. Nicholas, set out in "Lessons", or "Lectiones", of great interest, and, as far as I can tell, hitherto unpublished.

This Saint has always enjoyed great veneration both in the Greek and Latin Churches, and a great number of church-dedications have been made to his honour at various times. Justinian the Emperor, for example, built a church in his honour at Constantinople, about A.D. 430. Nicholas was a native of the city of Patara in Lycia. In infancy he observed the fasts of Wednesday and Friday by refusing to suck the breast of his mother on those days which were fast-days of the Church. St. Nicholas increased in sanctity with his age, and devoted himself to a religious life in the Monastery of Sion, near Myra, of which house he afterwards became Abbot. Amongst other instances it is related that when three noble young girls were exposed, through distress, to the danger of falling into evil courses, he for three successive nights conveyed to them, through a window, a competent sum of money for a marriage fortune for each of them, so that they were all portioned, and afterwards happily married.



Perhaps to this incident may be referred the origin of the three golden balls of the pawnbroker; said also by some to be the arms of the Medici, bankers; but they may, perhaps, have derived it from St. Nicholas.

Myra, the capital city of Lycia, in Asia, which had been christianised by St. Paul, was three miles from Patara. The archiepiscopal see there had been founded by St. Nicander, and had in later times no less than thirty-six suffragan bishops. This chair falling vacant, the Abbot Nicholas was chosen Archbishop, and in that elevated station became famous for his extraordinary piety and zeal, and an incredible number of remarkable miracles were wrought by him. The Greek writers declare that he suffered imprisonment for the faith, and fell under the cruelties of the persecution of Diocletian; that he took part in the Council of Nice, and there condemned the heresy of Arianism. Other authors, however, do not relate the facts. He died in A.D. 342, at Myra, and was buried in his own Cathedral.

Several churches were built to his honour before the translation of his relics to Bari. The Russian Church pays a greater veneration to him than to any other saint who lived since the time of the apostles.

The translation of St. Nicholas' relics to Bari (a seaport of Naples) was carried out by some merchants who sailed in three ships to Lycia, and watching their opportunity, when they were unperceived, went to the place where the relics were kept, broke open the marble coffin, and carried them off to their ships. The inhabitants, upon the alarm given, pursued them to the shore with horrible cries, but they were unable to recover them. They reached Bari, 9 May 1087; and several miracles are recorded to have happened to the spectators, according to the writers Baronius, Surius, etc. Mention is made, in the *Lives*, of a fragrant, unctuous matter which emanated from the relics in the shrine at Bari, a large quantity of which was found in his sepulchre near Myra when his relics were carried off.

St. Nicholas is esteemed a patron of children because he was from his infancy a model of innocence and virtue; and to form that tender age to sincere piety, says Alban Butler, was always his first care and delight. An ancient

MS. of Sarum festivals declares that he was called the patron of children not only because he made their tuition a great care, but chiefly because he always retained the virtues, simplicity, and guileless nature of a child, and by heroic piety in his very infancy devoted himself to God. His festival was kept with great solemnity by the boys of the Cathedral at Salisbury, at Eton, and other schools and colleges; no doubt in view of his special patronage of children.

Surius, in his *Vite Sanctorum* (vol. iv, p. 186, December 6), prints a long and interesting life, from which the principal subjects may be summarised as follows:—His noble birth and parentage; he sucks once only on Wednesday and Friday; he takes to learning, and avoids the society of women; is ordained priest; on the death of his parents he renounces riches; he assists a nobleman in want, who wishes to sell his daughters to infamy, by conveying money to him secretly; the nobleman eventually discovers who his benefactor is, and falls at his feet ("procidit ad ejus pedes"), and calls him his redeemer,—this subject may possibly explain the kneeling figure on the Brighton font; his benevolence to the poor; he undertakes to visit the holy places; lulls a tempest at sea when invoked by the sailors (this is, perhaps, the origin of his veneration as a helper of sailors and fishermen); raises a dead man to life; worships the holy cross; lulls another tempest; divinely selected to be Archbishop of Myra; is ordained Bishop; the persecutors in Lycia take him prisoner; is restored by the Emperor Constantine; returns to his province; he overturns the pagan altars; throws down the Temple of Diana; is present at the Council of Nice, under Pope Sylvester, against Arius; famine in Lycia; he quiets a tumult in Phrygia; Eustathius, the chief of the city, condemns three of the principal men of the city to death; but St. Nicholas meets them on the way to execution, and saves them; he repels Eustathius, who throws himself at the Saint's feet (here we have subject for another scene of a kneeling figure), and threatens him with divine punishment; Eustathius sues humbly for pardon; the revolt is overcome; the tribunes who were sent to quell the disturbance are falsely accused and thrown into prison, where the Emperor orders their

death ; they implore the intercession of St. Nicholas, who appears to the Emperor at night, and orders the release of the innocent persons ; the Emperor has them brought before him, accuses them of producing dreams on him by magic ; they plead their case, and are forgiven ; Constantine sends many gifts to St. Nicholas, a golden Gospel, a vase studded with gems, etc. ; some sailors in a storm invoke St. Nicholas, who appears to them ; he takes the helm, directs the ship, allays the tempest ; he departs, they land, and are told he has gone to the church ; they proceed there, they fall at his feet (here again we can explain the kneeling figure), and express their thanks with tears ; his death ; the remarkable unguent which distills from his bones, “in hoc usque tempus profluens morborum corporis et animæ remedium” ; the tale of a devil who puts on the appearance of a woman, takes a bottle of oil to some Lycians who were about to sail to visit his shrine, and asks them to fill up the lantern in his shrine with it ; Nicholas appears to them at night, and tells them to throw it into the sea ; they do so, it bursts into flame, St. Nicholas appears, and saves the ship from danger of fire.

The church at Hillingdon, in Middlesex, possesses a very interesting painted window of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, a photograph of which has been kindly given to me by the Rev. C. Lowndes, M.A., of Hartwell Rectory, near Aylesbury. The window is in four lights, each divided into two subjects ; and although some pieces of the glass appear to have been unfortunately lost, the losses do not affect the interpretation of the subjects, which are in some respects quite unique in the legendary history of the Saint. They are as follow :—

1. A youth falling from a ship into the sea, but holding a cup in his hand. The metrical inscription below is : “*Cadit puerillus quem mox salvat Nicholaus.*”
2. The youth saved by the Saint’s aid offers the cup at the shrine of Our Lord, where Nicholas presides over the service, at which two kneeling figures are worshipping. Legend, “*Tunc offert cyphum grates pro munere reddens.*”
3. The marvellous increase of the corn in the merchant’s ships : “*Multiplicat frugem presul quem nave recepit.*”
4. Nicho-



las compels a robber to restore stolen treasures : “ *Que tulerat [latro] bona cogit reddere [presul].*” 5. A scene which seems obscure. The Saint is being struck with a bludgeon by an old man ; and in the lower part of the same picture he appears in conversation with two (?) thieves : “ *Auro furato baculo flagellat amicum.*” 6. The restitution of the money, in its chest, to the owner : “ *Restituit rursus lator quod sustulit aurum.*” This is interesting from the costume of the persons in the scene. 7. A terrible scene : the arch-fiend, with white beard and hoary hair, in the guise of a pilgrim with wallet and staff, but having claw-feet and hands, strangling a young manservant who has carried off a dish of dainty food (a duck and cube-shaped trimmings) from his master, who is seen on a carved parapet, with two guests, in the back-ground, clasping their hands in the agony of despair : “ *Strangulat [hic] Demon puerum [palm]enta ferentem.*” 8. The final picture makes up for the horrors of No. 7. The dead youth lies prostrate on the ground before the Bishop, who is sitting in a little church-like house, while the young man’s friends kneel in supplication to beg for the intercession of the Saint, which, according to the legend, is not asked in vain : “ *Mortuus ad vitam rediit precibus Nicholai.*” It will be observed that the descriptive verses are full of false quantities. I have supplied, by conjecture, the words in brackets.<sup>1</sup>

The first extract is from the fine twelfth century MS. of *Lives of Saints*, in the Cotton Library of MSS. in the British Museum, Nero E. i, which appears to have formerly belonged to Worcester Cathedral. The parts in italics have *pneumata*, or musical signs, over line, and were in some cases sung with a repetition, or *da capo*, which is indicated by a catch-word at the end of the sentence.

The second piece is somewhat later, but is of interest from the condensed style in which the principal points in the life of the Saint have been recorded in a small space.

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that the common story of St. Nicholas restoring to life three children who had been cut up in a vat, is not represented in this window, nor does it find a place in the legends given below. But cf. the notice of the “three youths” in the first legend, Nos. IV, p. 192, and X, p. 195. The seal of the Priory of St. Nicholas at Laon has on the one side the subject of the storm-beaten mariners ; on the other, that of the children. See Douët D’Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, No. 9406.



It is comprised among a series of lives of saints in a MS. in the Arundel Collection in the British Museum, No. 91.

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BRITISH MUSEUM.

Colton. MS. Nero, E. I, Part II, f. 153b.

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“OCTAVA IDUS DECEMBRIS.

“NATALE SANCTI NICHOLAI PONTIFICIS AD VERSUS

“*O pastor eterne o clemens et bone custos .*

*Qui dum devo[te] gregis precis adtenderes voce lapsa de celo presuli sanctissimo dignum episcopatu Nicholaum ostendisti tuum famulum.*

“VITATORIA.

“*Adoremus regem seculorum in quo vivit Nicholaus honor sacerdotum.*

“SUPER NOCTURNO.

“*Nobilissimus siquidem natalibus ortus velut Lucifer Nicholaus emicuit.*

“ANTIPHONA. *Postquam domi puerilem decursat etatem cunctis mundi hujus spretis delectationibus Christi se iugo subiciens documentis sanctis suum prebuit auditum.*

“ANTIPHONA. *Pudore ‘bono’ repletus dono Dei famulus sumptibus datis stupri nefas prohibuit.*

“ANTIPHONA. *Auro virginum incestus auro patri earum inopiam auro prorsus utrorumque detestabilem infamiam Dei servus redemit Nicholaus.*

“ANTIPHONA. *Innocenter puerilia jura transcendens . evangelice institutionis discipulus effectus est.*

“ANTIPHONA. *Gloriam mundi sprexit cum suis oblationibus et ideo meruit procehi ad summum sacerdotii gradum.”*

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“QUALITER EGREGIUS DOMINI PRESUL NICHOLAUS.  
CULMEN AD HONORIS EST RAPUS PONTIFICALIS.”

I.

“Myrrhæa metropolis orbata est suo antistite ; ejus obitum non mediocriter adjacentium parrochiarum condolentes episcopi . fuerat enim bene religiosus . convenerunt in unum cum clericis cunctis . ut alium annuente domino providèrent illi æcclesiæ : secundum scita canonum : presulem idoneum . Concione itaque facta : intèrerat quidam pontifex magnæ auctoritatis . ad cujus intuitum omnium pendebat sententia . ut quem ille voce pröderet . hunc procul dubio eligerent universi . Hic ergo per omnia sequens apostolorum vestigia : cunctos jejuniis et devotissimis precibus hortatus est insistere . quatinus ille qui Mathiam indidit numerum supplere apostolicum . ipse solita elementia pândere dignaretur quem vellet fungi tanto sacerdotio.

“RESPONSA. *Confessor Dei Nicholaus nobilis progenie sed nobilior moribus ab ipso pererili evo secutus dominum meruit divina revelatione ad summum provehi sacerdotium.*

“VERSUS. *Erat enim valde compatiens et super afflictos pia gestans*  
*ab ipso*  
*viscera . meruit.”*

## II.

“Tunc omnis quasi cœlesti commoñiti oraculo . sic conversi ad Deum flagitabant ex intimis precordiis . ut pastor æternus utilimum ovium suarum pastorem ostendere dignaretur. Illis quippe summa cum devotione orantibus : vocem de cœlo audit predictus pontifex dicentem sibi . ut egrediens ante portas æcclesie staret . et quem primum hora matutinali venire conspiceret . ipsum consecrarent antistitem . adjungens etiam quod Nicholaus vocaretur. Tunc presul ille ceteris coepiscopis hanc insinuans revelationem . ‘credo enim quod non privemur promisso Dei.’ Sic ait . et valvas basilice sancta calliditate observabat . Mirum in modum . matutinali hora quasi a Deo missus . ante omnes se agebat Nicholaus.

“R. *Operibus sanctis Nicholao humiliter insistent revelatione divini proventus est ad summum sacerdotii gradum.*

“V. *Voce quippe de celo lapsa euidam insinuat presuli dignum episcopatu Nicholaum . ad sum[mum].”*

## III.

“Cumque ad ecclesiæ januas propinquasset . injecta manu eum apprehendit episcopus . blanditerque seiscitatus est dicens . ‘quale nomen habes?’ Ille columbina ut erat simplicitate . inclinato capite . ‘Nicholaus’ inquit ‘servus vestre sanctitatis’. Cum protinus presul palmis innexis ait . ‘Fili . veni mecum : est enim aliquod secreti . quod tue indoli fari debeam’. Mox introgressus . ‘En fratres’ proclamavit . ‘Vere . ait dominus quodcumque petieritis in nomine meo . credite quia accipietis . 7 fiet vobis . En inquam quod petivimus accepimus . en adest de quo vestra flagitavit caritas’. Quo viso ingentem omnes tulere clamorem ad sidera . 7 certatim salvatoris laudabant magnalia . Episcopi latabantur pro collega celitus collato . clerici alludebant sicut bone pecudes . Quod multis moror ? Licet plurimum obstiterit renitens plurimumque repugnaverit . inthronizatus ilico sicut mos exigebat . regionis illius pontificalem accepit infulam.

“R. *Quadam die tempestate scvissima quassati nautae coeperunt sanctum vocare Nicholaum et statim cessavit tempestas.*

“V. *Mox illis clamantibus apparuit quidam dicens illis ‘Eccc adsum quid vocasti me’. et statim.”*

## III.

“Mira prorsus . mira 7 stupenda sunt que narrantur : 7 si fas est antiquis per omnia comparanda . Quondam enim Samuelem propheta sanctus precepit spiritus . ut ad domum Isai pergeret . unum-

que ex ejus filiis placitum domino regem inungeret . modo autem isti ex intimo precanti affectu . vox de cœlo jussit . ut coram templi foribus excubaret : quatinus ibidem dignum Deo . 7 ecclesiæ sancte proficuum repperiret antistitem . Illi quamquam videnti locus tantum non regis nomen predicitur . Huic 7 locus et nomen presulis declaratur . Ille caput regium cornu inroravit olei . iste super caput Nicholai virtutem invocavit spiritus sancti . Sed tamen 7 rex 7 presul . uterque est electus a domino . Unde nos minime irridendi sumus . qui magnis ausi fuimus componere parva . Hinc jam ad ea quæ in episcopatu gessit . opitulante Deo vertatur stilus.

“ R. *Audiens Christi confessor trium juvenum innocentium necem precueurrat quantotius ad locum quo fuerat plectendi et liberavit eos.*

“ V. *Statimque solutos a vinculis usque ad pretorium judicis secum adduxit . et libera[vit].*

#### “IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO.

“ ANTIPHONA. *Pontifices almi divina revelatione glorificati . Nicholaum tunc presulem devotissime consecraverunt.*

“ A. *Sanctus quidem triticeum quod a nautis postulaverat acceptum . et sagacitate distribuebat et augeri precibus impetravit.*

“ A. *Muneribus datis neci sunt juvenes innocenter addicti quibus domini servus fuit vite presidium festinanter.*

“ A. *Jam decus lactentium Nicholas . mirabili portendebat auspicio sancte parsimonie tempus.*

“ A. *Qui dum matris adhuc lacte nutriretur . quarta et sexta feria semel in die papillas bibeat . Ad quantam vero messem divina convalescerent in eo semina sequentia pietutis opera profitentur.”*

#### V.

“ Pontificali igitur cathedra sublimatus tandem morum gravitatem quam prius . eandemque sequebatur humilitatem . Creber in oratione pervigilabat . corpus attenuabat jejuniis mulierum consortia . licet ab ipso pueritie suæ tempore exhorruerit . tamen ex hoc quasi quandam pestem fugiebat . In suscipiendis hominibus humilem . in loquendo se prebebat efficacem . Alacer erat in exhortando . severus in corripiendo . Viduarum et orphanorum atque oppressorum sic negotia curabat : ac si propria essent . Rapinam execratur potentium . arguebat vinolentos : 7 si quem forte quolibet casu affectum cernebat mirabiliter reficiebat . mirabiliusque consolabatur.

“ R. *Beatus Nicholas jam triumpho potitus novit suis famulis jam præbere caelestia commoda . qui toto corde poscunt ejus petitiones illi nimirum tota nos devotione oportet committere.*

“ V. *Ut apud Christum ejus patrociniiis adjuvemur semper . Illi nimirum.”*

#### VI.

“ Crescebat cotidie fama bonitatis ejus . que ubique laudem ferebat Nicholai . Hinc potens . hinc impotens illum nominabat . Gau-

debat populus cunctus de tali patrono . letabantur heróes de tanto pontifice . qui ita se auctoritate et gratia plenum exhibebat : ut et omnium curam géreret . 7 episcopi dignitatem non amitteret . Uerum tempus me deficiet : quin et sermo deseret : si de singulis ejus meritis scribere temptavero . Sed qui scire voluerit qualem se quantumque prestiterit . mordacem comprimat dentem : et ex subjectis evidenter agnoscere valebit . Cum igitur omnium karismatum virtute corroboraretur Nicholaus : 7 nichil sibi sed totum Dei gratiae tribuerat : coepit ita choruscare miraculis . ut non tantum sui sed etiam alieni quibuslibet oppressi angustiis . invocato nomine ejus statim sentirent levamen .

“R. *Quantam denique messem in eo divina semina creaverunt innumera pietatis officia quibus cotidie strenuus insudabat preconantur.*

“V. *Transitoriam felicitatem quanti penderet 7 celestis regni gloriam . innum[era].*”

## VII.

“Quadam vero die cum quidam nautæ subita maris tempestate periclitarentur : adeo ut presentem illis intemptarent omnia mortem : extimplo dissolutis frígore membris clamitabant ‘Nicholae famule Dei si vera sunt quae de té audivimus : nunc nos ea supremo in periculo constituti experiamur . quatinus erepti ex sevientis fluctibus maris . Deo 7 tue liberationi gratias agamus’. Miráres . Talia referentibus : apparuit quidam in similitudinem viri . dicens eis . ‘Vocastis me : ecce adsum’. Et coepit eos in rudentibus 7 antennis . aliisque adjuvare navis armamentis . Nec multo post omnis pelagi cecidit fragor . omnisque cessavit tempestas . Tum læti nautae pacata sulcantes æquora quantotius optatum subeunt portum . Qui egressi . sciscitabantur ubi Nicholaus esset . Cum autem indicatus fuisset eis in æcclesia . e vestigio ingressi : mirabile dictu . quem nunquam noverant : sine indice cognoverunt .

“R. *Qui cum audissent sancti Nicholai nomen statim expandunt manus utrasque ad celum salvatoris laudantes clementiam.*

“V. *Clara quippe voce coram omnibus dignum referebant illum Dei famulum . salvat[oris].*”

## VIII.

“Mox prostrati ad pedes ejus . coeperunt ei gratias agere dicentes qualiter de confinio mortis ipso suffragante liberati esset . Quibus sanctus ‘non meae’ inquit ‘possibilitatis arbitremini esse quod factum est . Solita Dei est misericordia qui propter credulitatem vestre fidei vobis sua succurrere dignatus est clementia . Discite ergo quanti valeat apud Deum fides pura . 7 petitio non ficta . Propter peccata enim nostra cotidie flagellamur . Tamen si ex toto corde ad bonum dominum conversi fuerimus . viscera misericordiae suae ilico super nos commovet . 7 eripit de imminentibus penis vel periculis . Idcirco fratres non pigeat vos benefacere sectari humilita-



tem . libenter pauperibus succurrere . Credite meae parvitati . quia ex quo homo in hujus mundi voraginem . propter delicta sua dejectus est . nullum ejus bonum sic Deus approbare legitur : sicut elemosinam . si tamen non ob mundi fiat gloriam . His aliisque talibus instructi . admirantes humilitatem spiritus . habitus vtilitatem . sermonis facundiam . atque magnitudinem virtutis ejus : discesserunt .

“R. *Ex ejus tumba marmorea sacrum resudat oleum quo liniti sanantur ceci . surdis auditus redditur . et debilis quisque sospes*  
*greditur*  
*resiliat.*”

“V. *Catervatim ruant populi cernere cupientes que per eum fiunt mirabilia . et debilis.*”

“AD CANTICA. *Decantande speciosis Nicholae canticis laudes tibi presolvisse fac sit nobis utile.*”

#### “LECTIO NONA.

“Quodam autem tempore cum eandem Liciam regionem accolarum pro meritis sic pernitiōsa fames oppressit . ut seges ægra victum omnem negaret : mox a provincialibus ruricolis sepedicto famulo Dei pro indigentibus maxime periclitanti . naves triticeis onustæ mercibus . in litore Arriatici portus adesse nuntiantur . Quo velox adveniens Nicholaus . nautis inquit . ‘Vos rogaturus accessi . ut huic populo tabe diurnae famis laboranti consulentes aliquantulum remedii ex isto frumento inpertiri studeatis’ . Sic sanctus : 7 sancto sic aiunt illi . ‘Non audemus pater obsecundare inperatis . quia publica taxatione angariati Alexandriam perreximus : 7 inde hoc triticum deferimus per ministrorum manus . in augustalia stipendia metiendum’ . Quibus sanctus . ‘Audite’ inquit ‘me : 7 ne amplius attenuetur hic populus . per unamquamque ratem saltim centum mihi præbete modios : 7 ego in domini mei cui servio virtute spondeo . polliceor . promitto . quia nullam minorationem habebetis apud regium exactorem’ . Tandem interventu presulis convicti . ex singulis puppibus centum numeravere modios . et confestim vento surgente secundo . classes portum relinquerunt . atque spirantibus auris . vulncri cursu Bisantium applicuerunt ad urbem .

“R. *Dum vero adhuc penderet ad ubera matris o nova res quartu feria et sexta semel in die papillas bibeat.*”

“VR. *Jam quodam modo sacri jejunii se futurum presignans amatorem Nicholaus . o nova res.*”

#### LECTIO X.

“Cum autem integram mensuram quam Alexandriæ susceperant ministris imperatoris numerassent . tantus stupor omnes accepit . ut pre admiratione seriatim cuncta que facta fuerant . eisdem nararent ministris . Qua relatione percussi . Deum rerum omnium auctorem continuata utrique laude magnificabant . Vir itaque



domini accepto frumento sic per industriam illud partiri studuit . sicut unumquemque noverat indigere ; Mirandis plus miranda succédunt ; Tanta enim omnipotentis Dei largitate hoc ipsum parum quod sanctus distribuit auctum est :<sup>1</sup> ut non tantum eodem . sed etiam altero poene exacto anno ad victum singulis sufficeret . quin et multi spé credula exinde serere non dubitantes . nequaquam eos expectata seges vanis frustrata est aristis . se duberibus farsit redditibus . Porro nemini hoc incredibile videatur . quia salvatoris est ista promissio dicentis . ‘ Si habueritis fidem ut granum sinapis . dicitis monti transferre :<sup>2</sup> 7 transferetur’. Et illud . ‘ Qui in me credit . opera que ego facio 7 ipse faciet . 7 majora horum faciet’. Vere enim in eum credidit Nicholas . in cujus opitulatione tale tantumque volunt facere miraculum.

“ R. *Summe Dei præsul confessor Nicholae tuam <sup>te</sup> catervam <sup>venerande</sup> protege namque credimus tuis precibus nos posse salvari.*

“ V. *Qui tres puero[s] <sup>at</sup> morte deditos illesos abire fecisti tuis laudibus instantem conserva plebem . numque cre[<sup>at</sup>dimus].”*

## LECTIO XI.

“ Ex multis igitur idolatriis quibus olim prefata regio dedita fuerat . maximam clementiæ suæ devotionem erga nefandissimæ Dianæ simulachrum exhibere studuit :<sup>3</sup> adeo ut etiam usque ad illud servi Dei tempus . plerique rusticorum execrabili deservirent religioni . Sed vir Dei hujus sacrilegii superstitionem ‘ non ferens’ tanta persecutus est instantia :<sup>4</sup> ut divino suffragatus adminiculo . penitus ex illis finibus obsceni numinis culturam propellerent . Verum quid diabolo malitiosius . quod in orbe artificiosius ? Cum enim cerneret se privatum tanto decoris sui cultu felléa face succensus :<sup>5</sup> magnam contra Nicholaum exarsit in oram . 7<sup>1</sup> quosdam perditos adiit viros . omnibus ‘ maleficiis’ inbutos<sup>2</sup> . eisque conficere oleum . quod Midia conditur . sub omni celeritate precepit . Parent

nefandi                      perfidi

protinus egregii auditores dictis cari magistri . 7 quantotius portentuosi liquoris mixtionem componunt . Quo confecto :<sup>3</sup> mox demon transformavit se in ejusdam religiosæ feminae vultum . atque simulata specie quibusdam navigantibus quorum devotio ad servum Dei tendebat medio sese obtulit mari :<sup>4</sup> 7 ait eis ‘ Video<sup>5</sup> vos profiscisci ad domnum Nicholaum . Mallem nunc 7 ego venire vobiseum :<sup>6</sup> quia votum habeo tanti patris perfrui benedictione . Sed quoniam nequeo :<sup>7</sup> rogo vos ut si molestum non est hoc meae parvitatís oleum ad æcclesiam Myrrhéorum feratis . et ob memoriam mei summam exinde parietes ipsius aulae linatis’. Illi vero ignari doli artisque fucatæ :<sup>8</sup> sumunt oleum : 7<sup>1</sup> libenter secum vehunt.

“ R. *Sancte Nicholae.*

“ V. *O Nicholae sidus aureum.*”

<sup>1</sup> Alterations here in MS.

## "LECTIO.

"Tunc monstrum informe . velut umbra tenuis veloci evanuit remigio . Sed dominus pius . invidorum aspernator . non est passus diu simpliciter ad famulum suum properantes munus ferre simulate imaginis . nec sermonibus fantasticis delusos progredi . Ex improviso enim cernunt secus se naviculam sagenulam insignibus refertam hominibus :<sup>1</sup> inter quos conspiciantur quendam simillimum sancto Nicholao . Qui ad eos sic facietis interrogationibus orsus : 'Heus' inquit 'quenam illa mulier vobis locuta est vel quid vobis attulit ?' At illi seriatim cuncta narrantes . 'En' aiunt . ostendunt . 7 'oleum quod nos deprecata est ad sanctam portare ecclesiam'. Quibus ille 'Vultis evidentius sapere . que fuit femina illa ? Haec est impudica Diana . Et ut me pro certo verum dicere comprobetis :<sup>1</sup> hoc vasculum execrandi olei . istic projicite in fluctibus'. Nulla in medium mora :<sup>1</sup> incunctanter faciunt imperata . Mox autem ubi oleum illud æquoreas tetigit aquas . mirabile dictu :<sup>1</sup> ilico accensus est ignis . qui contra naturam elementi prolixo maris spatio visus est ardere . Haec vero dum nautæ<sup>1</sup> stupenda vident<sup>1</sup> utrorumque naves magno divisae sunt intervallo . Unde nec interrogare prevaluerunt . quis esset ille per quem callidi hostis frustratas agnovere insidias . Verum ptamenut devoverant ad sanctum<sup>1</sup> [Nich]olaum :<sup>1</sup> dixerunt ei . 'Vere tu es ille . qui nobis in illo pelago horrendum ostendisti prodigium . Vere tú verus Dei es famulus<sup>1</sup> . ob cujus vitæ meritum . erepti sumus ab exitiis diaboli insidiis'. Talia dicentes cunctum rei eventum per ordinem narraverunt . Quibus auditis . vir domini solito more in laudem prorupit clementissimi salvatoris . ac deinde admonuit eos juste et pie vivere . atque se tutele custodis æterni ex toto committere<sup>1</sup> . talibus itaque oraculis satis satius informatos :<sup>1</sup> optataque benedictione exhilaratos :<sup>1</sup> remisit ad propria .

"R. *Celorum rex omnipotens tuam in sancto Nicholao confessore tuo considerantes virtutem tibi totum quod meruit asseribimus ideoque precamur ut apud misericordiam tuam et exemplis ejus adjuvemur et meritis.*

"V. *Talis quippe nequaquam nisi gratia tua domine existere valuisse . ideoque.*"

## "IN LAUDIBUS.

"*Beatus Nicholaus adhuc puerulus multo jejunio macerabat corpus . pontificatus infulis decoratus . talem se exhibuit ut ab omnibus amaretur.*

"A. *Ecclesie sancte frequentens limina . sacra pectori condebat mandata sagaciter.*

"A. *Infantia teneriori decursa corpus jejuniis macerabat.*

"A. *Iuste et sanctæ vivendo ad honorem sacerdotii meruit promoveri dirinitus.*

<sup>1</sup> Alterations here in MS.

"A. *O per omnia laudabilem virum . ejus meritis ab omni laude liberantur . qui ex toto corde querunt illum.*

"IN EVANGELIO.

"A. *O Christi pietas omni prosequenda laude qua sui famuli Nicolai merita longe lateque declarat nam ex tumba ejus marmorea oleum manat . cunctosque languidos sanat."*

"AD MISSAM

"STATUIT EI DOMINUS TESTAMENTUM.

"COLLECTA.

"Deus qui beatum Nicholaum pontificem tuum innumeris decorasti miraculis . tribue nobis ut ejus meritis 7 precibus a gehenne incendiis liberamur . per .

"EPISTOLA.

"*Ecce sacerdos.*

"GR.

"*Juravit dominus . reliqua .*

"EVANGELIUM.

"SINT LUMBI VESTRI PRECINCTI, ETC.

"SECRETUM.

"Sanctifica quæsumus domine oblata munera . quae in veneratione sancti antistitis tui Nicolai offeruntur ut per ea vita nostra inter adversa ubique dirigatur et prospera . per dominum.

"POST COMMUNIONEM.

"Sacrificia quæ sumpsimus domine pro sollempnitate sancti pontificis tui Nicolai sempiterna nos protectione confirment . per .

"RESPONSORIA.

"*Servus Dei Nicholas auri pondo trium virginum redemit pudorem earumque patris impudicam remenso auro fugavit inopiam.*

"V. *Affluens itaque misericordie visceribus metallo duplicato propulsavit earum infamiam . earumque .*

"R. [... *Nicholaus<sup>1</sup> pontificale decoratus infula omnibus se amabilem exhibuit.*]

"V. *Magne pater Nicolae summo patri proxime . Admiranda quæ precellis apud eum gratia . ac comisis nos emundans ne cadamus sustine . Jam per terras et per mare famam celeberrime reforcendo tribulatos . et elevando naufragos."*

<sup>1</sup> This, written on the upper margin of the leaf, is probably that which was omitted here.

“AD VESPERA.

“A. *Copiose caritatis Nicholae pontifex qui cum Deo gloriaris in celi palatio . condescende supplicamus . ad te suspirantibus ut exutos gravi carne pertrahas ad superos.*

“Dum *Mirensium quidam antistes pulsens ob invidiam esset de sede sua stillicidium manare statim olci sacri desivit . Tamdiu quippe salutaris ille liquor manare cessavit quousque presul idem cathedram suam reciperet . stilli[cidium].*”

II.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

*Arundel MS. 91,227b f. (Twelfth Century).*

“IN NATALE SANCTI NICHOLAI.

“LECTIO PRIMA.

“Beatus Nicholaus ex illustri prosapia ortus . civis fuit Patere urbis : quæ est una ex nobilissimis Liciæ provinciæ civitatibus . Cujus parentes cum in primevo juventutis flore hunc solum genuissent filium : cunctis se voluptatibus abdicantes . inter suas preces quas domino frequenter fundebant . hunc solum superstitem . hunc non solum divitiarum : sed et morum flagitabant heredem . Quorum vota Deus prospectans in ipso primordio nativitatis ejus monstrare est dignatus . qualis esset puer futurus . Nam cum matris adhuc aleretur lacte : cepit quarta et sexta feria semel bibere mammas . et hac vice contentus . tota die sic permanere . Puerilibus igitur annis ut patriarcha Jacob simpliciter domi transactis : cepit jam bonæ indolis puer bonæ spei monstrare principia . majoribus scilicet adherere ..... quæque digna in secreto ..... toris recondere . Vtroque ..... parente orbatus : roga..... [c]lementiam domini . ut de opibus sibi relictis sic ipso donante ordinaret . ut omnimodis divino conspectui placeret.”

II.

“Accidit autem ut quidam convicanens ad nimiam inopiam reductus . tres filias fornicari constitueret : ut earum infami commercio infelicem ageret vitam . Quod ubi vir sanctus comperit : misero homini condoluit . ejusque inopiam relevare decrevit . Cum ergo vir sanctus facti sui nullum nisi Christum habere vellet conscium : nocte ad domum predicti viri perrexit . et non minimum auri pondus per fenestram intro projecit . ac recessit . Quod ubi mane factus surgens prædictus homo comperit : innumeras Deo gratias egit . Vir autem sanctus . idem misericordiæ opus iterum ac tercio impendere predicto viro non destitit . Ita Nicholaus Ihesu Christi famulus . prædicti hominis inopiam misericorditer sollevavit : et filiarum ejus incestum cohibens . legitimo eas matrimonio juxta

natalium suorum dignitatem copulavit . Quod prædictum virum deprehendisse postquam vir sanctus comperit : ne cuiquam dum vitales carperet auras . hoc indicaret ab eo exegit.”

## III.

“Mirrea igitur metropolis orbata proprio antistite . et contione fidelium pro substituendo pastore facta : quidam sanctus pontifex intererat . ad cuius intuitu omnium pendebat sententia . Illis ergo divinam clementiam implorantibus : vocem de cælo prædictus pontifex audivit . ut quem primum matutinali tempore ad æcclesiam venire conspiceret Nicholaum nomine . antistitem consecraret . Sancto igitur præsule divinum promissum expectante : ecce matutinali tempore quasi a Deo missus ante omnes veniebat Nicholaus . Quem mox sanctus episcopus blande sciscitans . quo nomine vocaretur interrogat . At ille inclinato capite : ‘Nicholaus’ inquit ‘vestræ sanctitatis servus’. Quem protinus sanctus præsul in concilium ducens : ‘en’ inquit ‘quod petivimus accepimus . en adest de quo vestra flagitavit caritas’. Quo viso : ingentem omnes clamorem tollunt ad sidera . salvatoris laudantes magnalia.”

## IV.

“Pontificali igitur cathedra sullimatus : eandem morum gravitatem quam prius . eandemque sectabatur humilitatem . Creber in oratione pervigilabat . corpus attenuabat jejuniis . Mulierum consortia licet ab ipso pueritiæ suæ tempore exhorruerit . tamen ex hoc quasi quandam pestem fugiebat . In suscipiendis hospitibus humilem . in loquendo se affabilem præbebat . Alacer erat in exhortando . severus in corripiendo . Viduarum et orphanorum atque oppressorum . sic negocia exercebat : ac si propria essent . Rapinam execrabatur potentum . arguebatque vinolentos . Et si quem forte quolibet casu affectum cernebat : mirabiliter reficiebat . mirabiliusque consolabatur . Crescebat cotidie fama bonitatis ejus . quæ ubique laudem ferebat Nicholai . Hinc potens . hinc impotens illum nominabat . Gaudebat populus de tali patrone . letabantur herôes de tanto pontifice . qui ita se auctoritate et gratia plenum exlibebat . ut omnium gereret curam . et episcopi dignitatem non amitteret . Verum tempus mihi deficiet . quin et sermo deseret . si de singulis ejus meritis scribere temptavero . Sed qui scire voluerit : qualem se quantumque præstiterit . mordacem comprimat dentem . et ex subjectis evidenter agnoscere valebit . Cum igitur omnium carismatum virtute corroboraretur Nicholaus . et nichil sibi sed totum Dei gratiæ tribueret : cepit ita choruscare miraculis . ut non tantum sui . sed etiam alieni quibuslibet oppressi angustus . invocato nomine ejus statim sentirent levamen.”

## V.

“Quadam vero die cum quidam nautæ subita maris tempestate periclitarentur . ádeo ut presentem illis intentarent omnia mortem :



extemplo dissolutis frigore membris clamabant . ‘ Nicolae famule Dei . si vera sunt quæ de te audivimus . nunc nos ea suppremo in periculo constituti experiamur . quatinus eruti ex sevientis fluctibus maris . Deo et tuæ liberationi gratias agamus’ . Mira res . talia referentibus : apparuit quidam in similitudine viri . dicens eis . ‘ Vocastis me enim . ecce assum’ . et cœpit eos in rudentibus et in antennis . aliisque adjuvare navis armamentis . Nec multo post omnis pelagi cecidit fragor . omnisque cessavit tempestas . Tunc læti nautæ placata sulcantes æquora quantocius optatum subeunt portum . Qui egressi : sciscitabantur quo Nicolaus esset . Cum autem indicatum fuisset eis in æcclesia : e vestigio ingressi . mirabile dictu quem nunquam viderant . sine indice cognoverunt . Mox prostrati ad pedes ejus : ceperunt ei gratias agere . dicentes qualiter de confinio mortis ipso suffragante liberati essent.”

## VI.

“Eo tempore . Licie regionis populum gravis fames oppresserat . Dei autem famulus pro commissi gregis provisione dum esset sollicitus : naves onustas tritico ad portum appulisse audivit . Quod videlicet nautæ Alexandriae sumpserant : et Constantinopolim ad expensas regias devehebant . Ad quos vir Dei accessit : et ut ex eo plebis suæ inopiam relevarent expetiit . Quod cum se facere non ausos esse faterentur : ‘ spondeo’ inquit ‘ vobis in domini mei cui servio virtute . quia nullam minorationem pro hoc apud regium exactorem habebitis’ . Cum ergo precibus sancti præsulis adquievisset et ex singulis puppibus centum ei modios numerassent : nichil minus se postea repperisse mirati sunt . Vir itaque domini accepto frumento : sic per industriam illud partiri studuit . sicut unumquenque noverat indigere . Mirandis plus miranda succedunt . Tanta enim Dei omnipotentis largitate hoc ipsum parvum quod sanctus distribuit auctum est . ut non tantum eodem sed etiam altero exacto anno ad victum singulis sufficeret . quin et multi spe credula exinde serere non dubitabant . Quos nequaquam expectata seges vanis frustrata est aristis . sed uberioribus farsit redditibus.”

## VII.

• “Judex autem civitatis Mirreorum corruptus pecunia . tres innocentes viros morti adjudicaverat . Quibus ad interficiendum eductis : ubi vir domini hoc audivit . festinus ad locum cucurrit . et de manu spiculatoris gladium auferens . eosdem absolutos secum ad civitatem reduxit . Corrupto autem judici suppliciter veniam poscenti : benignus indulsit . Tres quoque principes apud imperatorem falsis criminibus graviter accusati . dum ab eodem neci fuissent adjudicati : sancti viri vulgante fama cognoscentes . ut se ab imminente periculo erueret cum multis gemitibus exorabant . Sequenti autem nocte Sanctus vir tam imperatori quam profecto in somnis apparuit . et ut nichil mali predictis viris inferre sinerent . sub gravi interminatione prohibuit . Qui statim absoluti : et priori

imperatoris sunt gratiæ restituti . Post paucos igitur dies predicti viri acceptis sillabis augustalibusque numeribus : ad servum Dei uti devoverant ire cœperunt . Qui venientes . sanctumque Nicolaum videntes : ilico consternati solo pedes ejus osculabantur . et præ magnitudine lætitiæ claris repetebant vocibus . ‘ Vere dilectissimus Dei es amicus . vere cultor et amator Christi . vere tu omnium ore laudandus . propter quem mirabiliter a morte liberati sumus . ’ ”

## VIII.

“ Nunc fratres karissimi de sollemnitate beatissimi Nicolai aliquid loquamur . quoniam illius sollemnitas agitur . quem non solum Grecia sed pene totus orbis predicat . Et juste quidem . quia licet per pauca scripta sint ex his quæ Sanctus vir in vita sua patravit : tamen ex quo ad Christum perrexit . tanta miracula cotidie exhibet . ut nulla sufficiat promere lingua . Nam quis poterit explicare quam sepe ejus meritis cæcis visus . surdis auditus . et ut breviter dicam debilibus cunctis celerrima redditur sospitas ? Ex marmore etiam tumuli ejus sacrum resudat oleum . quod a ministris peniculo collectum . studiosissime recônditur ad diversorum languorum proficuum unctionem . Mirabili[s] quippe Deus in sanctis suis . quoniam sic famulos suos glorificare consuevit . ut in omnem terram exeat sonus eorum victoriæ ac triumphi . quia dum suis supplicibus collata cœlitus non denegant patrociniâ : ostendunt se mundi devicto principe diademate redimîtos æterno .

“ Omnis ergo sexus omnisque conditio beati Nicolai tutamen expetens imploret suffragia : quærat auxilia . Novit enim cœlesti palma potîtus subvenire misericorditer afflictis . liberare oppressos . et pestiferos solvere nexus .

“ Oramus itaque sanctissime pater . ut humillimas nostræ petitionis voces attendas . affectum conspicias . et considerato nostræ conditionis figmento . hostem comprimas . expellas tyrannidem . dissidentes pacifices . tuearis presules . abbates dirigas . monachos foveas . gubernes clericos . et omnibus qui tua devote solennia pérâgunt cœlestè levamen acceleres .

“ Nos quoque misellos simul qui velut merces operam dedimus . et exilem gloriæ tuæ formavimus laudem : ab omni perturbacione insidiantium eripias . a suggestionè spirituum immundorum custodias . quatinus fideliter Ihesu Christo domino servire mereamur qui cum Deo patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus . per omnia sæcula sæculorum AMEN . ”

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(Continued from p. 106.)

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1885.

THE party left Brighton in special carriages attached to the 8.50 train for Portsmouth, and alighted at the Shoreham Station. New Shoreham Church was the first attraction, and the edifice was much admired. This has been a large cruciform church, but nearly the whole of the nave is destroyed. The old nave, tower, and transepts are Norman; but the capitals on the sides of the tower indicate a difference of date. The rich east end is later, having been rebuilt in place of the old Norman apsidal east ending. It has north and south aisles, the piers and arches on the two sides exhibiting a great variation in design, being Transition Norman. Some Perpendicular windows had been inserted, but are now removed. From a weather-moulding for the roof, on the eastern face of the tower, now entirely within the church, it is evident that the original chancel must have been very low; therefore probably small, and terminating in an apse, like the church of Newhaven.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, described the history and features of the structure, and referring to its plan, said it had only been a parish church from the commencement, although it was very much on the plan of the abbey churches. Many would infer that it had been attached to some priory or abbey; but this was not the case. They had been told that the church was built from one original design, and that this was carried out at once; but it was quite apparent that the base of the tower was older than some of the other parts. He referred to many important details, and pointed out that the old builders, in order to avoid sameness, had, in the construction of the present choir, adopted different designs on either side of the church. He also spoke specially with regard to the buttresses on the outside of the building.

The next halting-place was Old Shoreham Church, which is cruciform in shape, and was repaired and refitted a few years ago. It is-

remarkable for the small number of windows and the consequent darkness of the nave, as also for possessing on the tie-beams of the chancel the tooth-moulding, which is very rarely found carved in wood. The interior arches are highly ornamental.

Mr. Brock entered into an interesting description of the building, and pointed out that the nave was Saxon, and not Norman work, as had generally been supposed. He also stated that the work of the church must be regarded with great care, inasmuch as it had been repaired with a soft stone, which now appeared in a worse state than some of that which had been exposed to the storms of seven hundred years. Whilst walking round the outside of the walls he drew attention to the blocked Saxon door on the north side, and the long and short quoins at the west end. These are formed of massive blocks of stone.

At Bramber, which was next visited, the Rector, the Rev. Morland Rice, and Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam, F.S.A., received the party. Bramber Church was first sought, and here the Rector kindly gave a lucid explanation of the building, which was formerly cruciform. The manner in which the original chancel-arch and the two arches giving access to the transept had been filled in were pointed out; and the Rector added that there was a Norman doorway at the end of the present nave, which he wanted to open; but there being a large stump of ivy on the outside, the architect assured him that if this was removed, the whole end of the church would most likely collapse. Although very small, the church is a very interesting one, and the little ivy-clad building presents a very quaint appearance when viewed from a distance.

Progress was next made to Bramber Castle, where Mr. M. Bloxam, F.S.A., delivered a brief address. He said: "Time does not permit of more than a very cursory view being taken of the Castle of Bramber and its surroundings. An ancient British fortress of prehistoric date, it contains within its limits the mound (not altogether artificial) which characterises other British fortresses, as at Windsor, Warwick, Tamworth, Lincoln, Oxford, Cambridge, Norwich, and elsewhere, on the sites of which mediæval castles were subsequently built. To the family of De Braose, the first of whom (William de Braose) came over with William Duke of Normandy in the eleventh century, we owe the construction of the mediæval castle, of which the existing apparent remains are but small. We cannot say what foundations may be hidden beneath the soil. The site comprises somewhat more than three acres. The ruins which are visible are not extensive. They consist of fragments of walling on the western and north-western sides; some ruinous buildings which, when entire, guarded the entrance into the Castle; and near the entrance on the east side, the ruins of a strong



tower of Norman architecture, of possibly the close of the eleventh century (perhaps of that succeeding), which formed the Norman Castle, or *castellum*, mentioned as such in *Domesday Book*. We read of no sieges undergone by this mediæval fortress. King John, in one of his itineraries, is said to have been refused admission here, and to have been compelled to sleep at Bramber. A subsequent monarch, Edward I, is said to have slept one night at Sele (better known as Beeding Priory), within one mile of the Castle. In the civil wars of the seventeenth century this Castle is said to have been occupied by a small body, a mere handful, of troops. It was in the vicinity of this Castle, in a narrow lane, that on the 14th of October 1651, Charles II, on his escape from Worcester in disguise, attended by Lord Wilmot and Colonel Gunter, had to run the gauntlet, and to pass through a number of the Parliamentary forces stationed to guard the bridge, but who had left their post for refreshment, and who jostled the King and the other two rudely to the side of the lane. On the old bridge at Bramber was formerly a chapel served by an ecclesiastic from the neighbouring Priory."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock and Mr. J. H. Round also addressed the gathering; and whilst a circuit of the ruins was being made, the former suggested that the Duke of Norfolk should be requested to allow excavations to be made upon the traditional site of the old chapel, in order to ascertain if the theory generally held as to its position can be supported by direct evidence.

Mr. Buckler, architect to the Duke of Norfolk, who is the owner of the ground, promised to represent the matter to His Grace; and if the request is acceded to, the result will be looked forward to with great interest by all antiquaries.

Steyning Church was reached just before one o'clock, and the visitors lingered long in the old building. The church is a small portion of the original plan. It now consists of a western tower, nave, north and south aisles, and chancel, which latter has recently been reconstructed, not in accordance with the rest of the church. The arches between the nave and aisles are round, high, and enriched with Norman ornaments in various patterns, with the exception of the extreme arch on either side to the west, which is plainer; and the last piers are partially included in the wall, showing that the arches and piers had been intended to cease where they now do. The nave and aisles are rather narrow; but the former is very lofty, with round-headed clerestory windows, of which the upper portions only are glazed. Between the nave and the chancel are four very high substantial arches, apparently designed to support a central tower. The present tower was added at a later epoch, apparently after the period of the dissolution.



Mr. Gordon M. Hills gave a most interesting and detailed description of the building, and his discourse was heartily appreciated.

Upon leaving the church the party adjourned to the White Horse Hotel for luncheon.

The next place on the programme was Edburton, where was read the following paper on

#### EDBURTON CHURCH.

BY THE REV. F. GELL, M.A., VICAR.

As the official conservator of this ancient building, I beg leave to bid you all a hearty welcome within these venerable walls. I am the twenty-seventh on the extant roll of the rectors of this obscure Sussex pastorate, appointed, like my twenty-six predecessors, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. That record covers five and a half out of the seven centuries during which this church has stood on this spot, and it seems most probable it is itself only the successor of an older structure. The name of our parish is Edbourghton, or Edburga's town; doubtless from St. Edburga, sister of King Edmund, and granddaughter of good King Alfred, whose father is known to have resided at Bramber.

The church is said by Bacon to be dedicated to St. Andrew (without any quoted authority), and is a typical specimen of those Sussex churches so delightfully described by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock on Monday. It has been less injured than most of our churches by that terrible process which has been applied to so many of them with disastrous effect by so-called modern architects. I mean the process of "restoration". We were protected during the worst "restoring" period by our remote position; by the wild Weald on one side, and the Southdown wilderness on the other; and by those roads east and west (if roads they deserve to be called), over which you have just had to climb.

The church consists, as you see, of five members, a porch, nave, chancel of First Pointed period, a chantry-chapel of very early Second Pointed, and a tower of late Perpendicular date. The stern simplicity of the chamfering, and the unknapped, plastered flintwork, are characteristic features in close harmony with the locality. We stand on a rocky knoll of upper green sand, and the vast chalk formation is within a few hundred yards. So the sister sciences of archæology and geology may be said to kiss each other in this building. The nave and porch are considered by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock to be as early as King John's time, c. 1200 A.D. The chancel, in the windows of which you will observe a wave-moulding, is either of a little later date or a more highly finished portion of the earlier date. The chantry on the north

side (now used as a vestry), called the Truleigh or Traigil Chapel, is known by documentary evidence to be of the date 1319. The deed of William de Northo, the founder, is dated at Bramber, July 13th, in that year, when a priest was endowed to pray for his soul and those of his two wives, Olive and Christiana, in this chapel, which he dedicated to St. Katherine. The tower, of worked flints, was raised when the decay of architectural art had begun; but it stands with the record of its four centuries written so visibly upon it, putting forth no claim to grace or grandeur, but going through its own daily work with a certain noble carelessness of what anybody may think about it; rent, but not ruined yet; gathering human souls together with its old bells, and attracting the half unconscious love of those who have, during all that time, grown up familiar with its aspect, and lain down to sleep at last beneath its shade.

Mr. Brock has pointed out the two corbels in the western walls as indications of the framework of the older tower or bell-gable, which probably was supported on them. We have three bells, the tenor being  $35\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. Two of them are pre-Reformation bells, and one is dated 1639. One of the ancient bells is inscribed "Sancta Katerina, ora pro nobis"; the other, "Sancta Anna, ora pro nobis"; and the third, "Gloria Deo in Excelsis." Out of 1,000 bells in Sussex, only 106 were cast before 1570, and our two older bells are of this number.

I will ask your kind attention to several points of special interest which have survived to us. 1. An ancient sundial without a gnomon, on the eastern jamb of the porch (similar, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock says, to one discovered at the Church of Bishopstone), supposed to be of Saxon date, and possibly belonging to the earlier church which stood here. 2. The piscina of a rood-altar is in the south wall. An altar stood where the pulpit now stands; and that veteran archæologist, Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam, informs me this is a valuable instance of an ancient feature, to which attention has only recently been directed; the flattened capital of the impost of the low chancel-arch also telling us of the rood-screen which stood before the chancel in pre-Reformation times. 3. The two low side-windows in the chancel, similar to those at Dunchurch, near Rugby. They have been carefully examined by Mr. Bloxam and Mr. Brock; and the rebate in the aperture, evidently intended for the usual shutters instead of glass, has been noticed by both those authorities as indicating the uses to which these windows were applied. The friars, protected by papal bulls in their invasions of the rights of the parochial or secular clergy, sat here to receive the confessions of all who came, till these windows were half closed up (as now usually seen) by an order, the date of which is given in Bloxam, that they should be no longer used. The shutters used by

the friars were then removed, the windows glazed, and the practice discontinued. 4. The ancient leaden font, one of the three in the county. The date of it is 1180 A.D., or 1190. It was evidently cast in a mould, in a roll, and joined at the right length, the junction being seen on the eastern side. The stand is new. Another pedestal, of indifferent design, is given in Cartwright, in 1724. 5. The pulpit, of Jacobean date, probably ordered at the metropolitan visitation by Archbishop Laud, who, parish tradition says, preached in it himself. 6. The rails, which Mr. Bloxam says were the first ever put into the church, *i.e.*, 1635, when an order was given to exclude dogs from the sanctuary; and probably Laud, who first ordered them, included Puritans in that designation. 7. The Register in the Vestry, 1558; the first Order in Council being 1528, and the second 1558, which brought this venerable document into existence. 8. The Hippesley mural monument with a defaced inscription, which Mr. Wright has undertaken to complete. And perhaps I may include among our curiosities a headstone near the porch, which is so peculiarly worded that I shall feel deeply obliged to any English scholar who will tell my parish what is the exact position designated by the inscription of the two wives of Mr. Gallop.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, followed with a brief address, and the visitors then adjourned to the Vicarage, and partook of tea, which was kindly provided for them.

Progress was then made to Poynings Church. This is a plain Perpendicular cross-church with a central tower, but no aisles, of dressed flint; the principal entrance being on the northern side, where there is a porch; other doors existing at the west end, and in the south sides of both nave and chancel. This last contains a piscina and three sedilia in excellent condition. The font is an octagonal column of sandstone with trefoil-headed panels worked in the sides. In the south-east angle of the building some portion of the outer wall of both chancel and south transept seems to have belonged to an earlier structure. The general features of this church are so much like those of Alfriston, save that the latter is larger and more ornamental, that they probably were erected nearly at the same period, and perhaps even by the same architect. This place was carefully inspected, and the explanations of Mr. Brock proved of great value.

Pyecombe Church was the last halting-place, and as it was now growing late, a hurried visit was paid, and no explanations of its archæology were given.

The evening meeting was held in the King's Apartments, Royal Pavilion. There was a large attendance of members and ladies, and

the two papers read during the evening were listened to with marked attention and interest. Mr. John Brinton, M.P., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were Mr. W. H. Cope, Mr. Arthur Cope, Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*; Mr. Joseph Brown, Q.C.; Mr. Grain, Mr. S. B. Merriman, Mr. R. W. Merriman, Mr. Edward Bush, Mr. Reay, Mr. C. Lynam, Mr. J. F. Swayne, Mr. R. Sims, Mr. E. De Paris, Mr. Nichols, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, and others.

The Chairman, without any prefatory remarks, at once called upon Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, to read a paper on "Notes on some Anglo-Saxon Charters of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries relating to Sussex." He had only to ask the speakers if, at the close of the paper, they had any observations to offer, to make such as briefly as possible. That was so opposed to Parliamentary precedent that he could value it more than any person present.

Mr. Birch then read his paper, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, said he should have wished that some one else rather than he should have risen to offer some observations on the most interesting and valuable paper just read. The paper consisted very much in the identification of names in that county, of which he was afraid he was not sufficiently cognisant to follow, and he could only speak in general terms of the value of the paper they had had; and with regard to the preservation of old documents he had referred to, he (the speaker) thought Mr. Birch had done much towards this by taking upon himself to publish the charters he had discovered. One or two points he referred to in his paper were good matters for discussion. He thought these Anglo-Saxon charters could not be too highly estimated. It was a remarkable thing that after the lapse of twelve hundred years Mr. Birch could identify the places he had done that evening by the names they were known by twelve hundred years ago.

Mr. Joseph Brown, Q.C., asked whether the names mentioned were given in the Latin or Anglo-Saxon form. He presumed most of the charters were Latin; but he believed it was an exception for them to be in Saxon. As to the names of places, he had not unfrequently seen them given in the current language of the day.

Mr. Birch, in reply, said the forms of the names of places in the charters were practically in the language of that day, with the occasional addition of the Latin *-a* or *-ia*, by which the termination was thrown into a kind of conventional Latin; but nothing was done to interfere with the formation of the word.

The Chairman said, before calling upon Mr. Morgan to read his paper, he thought it his duty to make a few observations upon the



importance of the subject Mr. Birch had alluded to before,—the care and preservation of charters, particularly in towns, and important cathedral towns like Chichester. A case he would advert to was one in connection with the visit of that very Association to the town he had the honour to represent, some four years since. He knew that the town of Kidderminster possessed a series of valuable charters, which had been alluded to by the various writers who spoke of the history of the place; and before the British Archæological Association visited the town he made a point of asking the Mayor to have those charters ready for production, so that they might be examined and commented upon by the learned body who should visit the town. The Mayor referred it to the Town Clerk for an answer, and the reply was that no such charters could be found. The charters were thirteen in number, and from the time of Edward III down to Charles II. He had insisted that some pains should be taken to find the charters; but all to no good. He persisted, however, and requested the Mayor to devote himself to the finding of the charters. The very evening before the arrival of the Association (and a great many of the members who made that expedition were in the room, and would bear him out), the charters were discovered by the merest accident in an old cupboard, with a number of waste papers which were put to light the fires of the municipal building. That was an illustration of the neglect of towns of ancient character with their ancient institutions, and towns like Chichester, which probably possessed a dozen charters where Kidderminster had one. He thought these charters were very important; and he made these remarks with a view of impressing those gentlemen who might be members of public bodies to remember that little incident, with a view of impressing upon those with whom they came into contact the importance of looking up those objects of interest in their own district; and having looked them up, to place them under the public eye, and endeavour to train the minds of the members of the Town Council to the value of the charters that belong to the town, and of which they were the proper custodians. The thirteen charters were now mounted, and displayed to the interested eye of this generation, and probably future generations; and they, he was glad to say, formed a principal object of interest at Worcester Exhibition three or four years ago.

Mr. W. Winkley, F.S.A., said that thanks were due to the authorities of the British Museum, who were ever watchful to ensure the preservation of old documents.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, then read his paper on "Ancient Sussex Fortresses", which has been already printed at pp. 159-172.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., said Mr. Morgan's paper showed an immense



amount of reading and an immense amount of research, and, above all, classical knowledge,—an amount which was not exceeded by any in that Society. His paper had gone back far and wide, and had been singularly descriptive of the camps he had mentioned. In the British Isles there were innumerable camps of similar character; and what was more important, they contained on the outside another fence, into which it was supposed the occupants drove their cattle, and perhaps cooked their food. Chanetonbury Ring and Lancing Ring appeared to be merely places of temporary occupation, while that class which he had just mentioned seemed to have been permanent camps.

Mr. Brock said they could not lay too great stress upon the fact that every hill-fort in Sussex was within sight of another. If they could find the age of one, they would probably find the age of the series.

Mr. Morgan said the connection between one fort and another was very true, and apparently they were connected for strategical reasons.

Mr. Joseph Brown, Q.C., said he understood from Mr. Morgan's learned paper that he was still of opinion, notwithstanding certain articles which appeared in the *Archæologia* two years ago, that the Emperor Claudius was the first who really succeeded in subduing the early British troops. He (Mr. Brown) was in Rome some years ago, and he had pointed out to him the remains of a horizontal part of a triumphal arch erected to the Emperor Claudius for the purpose of commemorating his victories in Britain; and he remembered part of the inscription, which threw much light upon the matter. The tablet, he was informed, was part of the original arch; but it had decayed through age, and had been restored, about one-third of the inscription having undergone the renovating process. Assuming the restoration to be correct, it was a most interesting corroboration which he had seen of the fact of the existence of a number of petty British princes at that time, and of the able generals of Claudius who had subdued them.

Mr. Morgan said Claudius only wanted to contrast his conduct with that of Julius Cæsar. He thought the date of the arch was A.D. 51, whilst Claudius came over to England A.D. 44. It was some years after when he had a triumphal procession and games in the circus to commemorate his victory.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Mr. Birch, and Mr. Morgan.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1885.

This day His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, the President of the Association, had invited the members to inspect Arundel Castle and the Fitzalan Chapel, and arrangements had been made for a visit to Roman Bignor and to Amberley Castle.

Arundel Station was reached by rail in good time; and at Arundel Castle the visitors were courteously received by Capt. Mostyn, steward to the Duke. Considerable time was spent within the building, and the pictures and tapestries were admired. Upon quitting the new portion, the clock-tower was examined, with its dungeons, and the party ascended to the old keep and the ramparts. Interest centred in the old Saxon well, which was choked by Sir William Waller in 1664, depriving the Royalists of water, and compelling them to surrender unconditionally. He planted cannon in the tower of the church, and battered the battlements, roof, and upper rooms of the well-tower into the well. The well, which is 200 feet deep, was cleared out in 1876, and there is now 5 feet of water in it. The stairs which led to the rooms over the well are still to be seen, and are well preserved. Stone cannon-shot, which were raised out of the well, were inspected, as were also a number of iron cannon-balls used by Oliver Cromwell in the years 1643-44. An ancient hand-mill is to be seen here, to which a story without foundation is attached, as apocryphal as the statement made by some writers that King Alfred possessed this stronghold.

Quitting the keep, the party were conducted to the Fitzalan Chapel. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, explained its history, and commented on the monuments which it contains. Referring to its present dilapidated state, he said he was glad that a few pieces of the roof were still preserved, as they would be of value hereafter.

Mr. J. H. Round also addressed a few words to the company, and progress was then made to the parish church.

This lofty church consists of nave, north and south aisles slightly projecting, with north and south porches to the nave; the former of wood, plain and open. The Vicar (the Rev. Mr. Thompson) gave particulars as to the church, pointing out that the frescoes on the north wall were discovered when the church was restored in 1873-5.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills said the party ought not to leave without noticing the stone pulpit, which was a part of the old work. It was built into the column itself, and this showed that it really was a part of the old work. It was out of use for some time, but was brought into use again a few years ago, and it seemed strange that it should have been discarded. Formerly, however, there was a gallery around

the church ; and probably a three-decker was introduced, as this was not thought to be high enough.

Some of the party then entered the Roman Catholic Church : and after luncheon had been partaken of at the Norfolk Hotel, a pleasant drive was taken through Arundel Park to Bignor.

Bignor is situated on the north side of the South Downs, about midway between Petworth and Arundel. A Roman road from Chichester, well developed up to the hill opposite Bignor, runs within half a mile of the Roman villa with its tessellated pavements, which, under the guidance of Mr. Roach Smith, were visited.

In 1811 the plough of Mr. G. Tupper brought unexpectedly to light one of the pavements, which in the following years led to the discovery of others, and ultimately of the remains of a villa covering several acres, in a field called significantly "Bury Field". The eminent local artist, the late Mr. King of Chichester, was soon on the spot, and he sketched and engraved some portions of the pavements in his usual vigorous and truthful style ; but the means at the command of the Rev. Samuel Lysons, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, enabled that intelligent antiquary to outstrip all local efforts, and he published engravings and a satisfactory description.

For a description of the Roman villa our readers may refer to the paper on "The Roman Villa at Bignor", by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, pp. 57-64.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., gave an interesting account of the villa, and said he did not attribute to the Saxons the destruction of the Roman villas, as commonly believed. That they used them is shown by the alterations we find made in many instances. Their habits were different from those of the Romans ; they cared nothing for the baths, and so we find them often converted to other purposes. He then sketched the transition from the Romans to the Saxons, and instanced how much the latter had borrowed in their works of art, and how much the Romans had civilised them ; paying a compliment to Mr. W. de Gray Birch for publishing the Saxon charters, so essential to Saxon history.

The lecturer was thanked at the close ; and a vote of thanks was also passed to Mr. George Tupper, the proprietor of the villa, after a few remarks had been offered by Dr. Samuel Birch, F.S.A., on the villa in reference to Roman fine arts, and by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A.

After the lengthy stay a start was made for Amberley Castle and Church. The little church was inspected ; and tea having been partaken of at the kind invitation of the Rector, the Rev. E. G. A. Clarkson, M.A., a glance was taken at the Castle walls. A few moments enabled Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock to give an explanation of each place, and the party proceeded to Amberley Station. Brighton was reached at a late hour.

The proceedings in connection with the Association, in the evening, took the form of a *conversazione* given by the Mayor and Mayoress of Brighton, Mr. Alderman and Mrs. Reeves. Upwards of a thousand guests were present, being received by the Mayor and Mayoress in the corridor, the special decoration which had been effected being in charming taste.

Sir James Picton presided, and opened the proceedings. He said it might be asked what connection archæology had with music. Personally he thought the connection was well established, as they would perceive on consideration. The melodies of England were not all of yesterday, and although the English might not, perhaps, be so musical a nation as the Scots or Irish (yet that might be questioned), still there were a great number of fine old English songs and melodies, and by the kindness of Mr. Sawyer a portion of them would now be brought under their notice.

Mr. F. E. Sawyer, F.S.A., then read an interesting paper on "Sussex Songs and Music", stopping at frequent intervals in order that songs mentioned by him might be sung by the very efficient and well trained choir. The paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*. Mr. Sawyer's recitals of the quaint legends upon which many of the songs were based, and the rendering of the songs by the members of the choir, were duly admired. Dr. Sawyer, F.C.O., and Mr. A. Neall accompanied on the pianoforte.

At the conclusion Sir James Picton said that before they separated it was only right that they should express the thanks due to Mr. Sawyer and the choir for the entertainment they had given that night. Each had been worthy of the other. The lecture had been learned, historical, and explanatory; and the illustrations had been given in the most beautiful manner, the voices and the harmony suiting the melody, and all combining to give them a rich feast of musical instruction and pleasure. He was sure he should be stating their feelings when he expressed to Mr. Sawyer and the gentlemen who had favoured them with the musical illustrations a sense of gratitude for what they had kindly done; and he ought to mention that the Mayor would have been only too pleased to have tendered this expression of thanks, but that he was engaged in the reception of his guests.

The company then separated. Dancing was commenced.

At the same time that the *conversazione* was being held in the rooms of the Royal Pavilion, the Steine Enclosure was brilliantly illuminated. The fountains in the centre of the ground presented a pretty appearance, coloured lights being strung from top to bottom, and the lawns were dotted here and there with glowworm-lamps, while a string of Chinese lanterns formed a ring around the fountain. The illumination was continued far into the night.



SATURDAY, 22ND AUGUST.

The first place of pilgrimage to-day was Preston parish church. Upon arriving here the visitors were received by the Vicar (the Rev. A. D. Freeman), the Curate (the Rev. G. Bridge), and Mr. H. R. Bates (Churchwarden). After an inspection of the edifice had been made, the Rev. A. D. Freeman proceeded to remark that he did not profess to have any accurate knowledge of details with reference to the old church, and it would be better to give a few facts of what had happened to the church in recent times, and leave Mr. Loftus Brock to go further back. He did not know the exact date of the church, but from all indications it was of the time of Henry III; and, so far as he understood, all parts of the church were in keeping, showing that no material alterations had been made since that time. The restoration of the church was comparatively recent. The nave was restored first, and other work had been done since by Mr. Benett-Stanford, the lay rector of the parish. The work of restoration was carried out very extensively, and some important discoveries were made. The walls were covered with a strong plaster, and upon it were layers of whitewash. On each side of the chancel the Ten Commandments had been painted, and were still to be seen; but other traces of colour were seen, and upon the various coatings being removed, some fine frescoes were discovered. The frescoes had been relined with the greatest care; and, so far as the late restoration was concerned, every line was simply traced over by the artist. The Rev. Charles Townsend discovered the frescoes on each side of the chancel, but when other traces of colour were seen in other parts of the church great care was taken, and the artist brought the lines out for a short time to enable him to trace them over with charcoal. Without having the slightest previous clue to what was underneath the surface, the artist had produced what was now to be seen. On the north side of the church some of the heads of the figures were gone, and it would be noticed that the attitudes were remarkable. Before the church was restored it was in a dilapidated condition, but he felt that the work of restoration was very successfully carried out.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., having remarked that illustrations of the frescoes had appeared in the *Journal*,

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, said Preston Church was a good example of what a small village church could be made by careful handling. He thought all must be impressed by the artistic church-like appearance which had been given to the building, without anything been done at which any Churchman could take the slightest



offence. Everything was in exceedingly good taste and beautiful. He then proceeded to deal with the architectural features of the building, and alluding to the frescoes, said it was remarkable that out of all the Sussex churches there was scarcely one in which traces of frescoes were not found when restoration was carried out. It would be an easy matter to prepare a list of the frescoes which had been found in the county. In conclusion, he said he knew that frescoes were difficult to keep; but if clergymen took the same trouble that had been taken at Preston, many frescoes might be preserved. On behalf of the Association, he thanked the Rev. A. D. Freeman for the courtesy which had been extended to them, and for the information which had been afforded.

After a short drive, Patcham Church was reached, and here Mr. E. P. L. Brock described the building, and, by desire, in the absence of Mr. George R. Wright, also dealt with the recently discovered fresco over the chancel-arch. In the course of his remarks he said Patcham Church presents, besides Early English, a mixture of Decorated, Perpendicular, and Norman work, as the blocked-up doorway on the north side of the building indicates. In the autumn of 1879 a well-preserved and interesting fresco was discovered over the Norman arch between the nave and chancel of the church. Traces of colour were noticed beneath the whitewash on the wall; and when the church was under restoration, the Rev. T. Morse, the Vicar, had the several coatings removed; as many as thirty surfaces were got through before the painting was come to, more or less damaged by two large tablets to the family of the Roes and the Ogles. During the scraping away of the various coatings, indications of later wall-paintings were noticed, and even now there are evidences of an earlier painting still than the one in question. The subject is that of the Day of Judgment and the Resurrection, and the figures below the grand centre group, which were at first thought to represent the punishment of Purgatory or even of Hell, are merely bodies rising from the graves at the sound of the last trump, which the two angels above are supposed to be sounding, and which the remains of a tombstone over a grave on the left hand side pretty well confirms. The date of the fresco is believed to be the thirteenth century.

After leaving Patcham Church, a delightful drive was taken towards Wolstanbury and Hollingbury Camps. Owing to the rain which had fallen, it was impossible for the conveyances to drive to the summit of the Downs, and some of the party proceeded on foot from Pyecombe to Wolstanbury Camp. Wolstanbury and Hollingbury are two of the numerous hill fortresses of Celtic and British *oppida* which dominate the South Downs. These were described by Mr. Thomas Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, in the paper he read at the Pavilion on

the preceding day; and therefore in the addresses he delivered to his audience on their visit he merely referred to the leading arguments. Wolstanbury, neither he nor Mr. Roach Smith had previously visited. It stands at a very high elevation, and taxed rather severely the walking powers of many. Its great height and steep approaches on some sides obviously rendered unnecessary the deep foss and high vallum always found where the land has no natural defence. The *oppidum* has been used in the middle ages as a chalk quarry; and this seems to have led to some error, the ridges having been mistaken for a curvature of the vallum. Hollingbury being more exposed, and on lower ground, is surrounded by a deeper foss and higher vallum.

Mr. Morgan having pointed out the general features of Wolstanbury, described in his paper before referred to, Mr. C. R. Smith, F.S.A., said that these *oppida* were only part of a vast system of a very ancient provision for protection in case of warfare; the antiquity of most of the work was very great; some may be thousands of years anterior to the invasion of Cæsar; the time of their origin was unknown, but not of their termination as fortresses. When the Britons became Romanised there was no longer a necessity for the fortifications, which, in their state of rude independence, served in their wars against each other, the British nations, or tribes, being perpetually at variance against each other, and only united in the face of a common enemy. In Hollingbury are some tumuli, or sepulchral mounds, one of which, opened by Dr. Mantell, contained bronze armlets and a torque. Mr. Roach Smith remarked that these burial-places were of a comparatively late date, after the *oppida* had ceased to be used for residence in times of warfare, and he gave instances of their use occasionally by the Romans, not for military purposes, but for residence; and he especially instanced the remarkable *oppidum* near Dorchester, called Maiden Castle, admirably described and illustrated in Mr. C. Warne's *Ancient Dorset*, the best work for the study of British *oppida*.

After Mr. C. Roach Smith's observations Sir James Picton said he considered, from the peculiar form of the *oppidum*, that it showed Roman influence.

This Mr. Roach Smith doubted, remarking on the state of the south of Britain under the Romans.

Mr. J. H. Round, referring to Mr. Morgan's paper, made some observations on that portion of it in which terraces exist on the sides of fortified hills; he quoted classical authority in support of his view of this origin being agricultural.

Mr. Roach Smith agreed with Mr. Round, remarking that the high grounds were occupied before the low lands, and to this day showed traces of tillage.

When Wolstanbury Hill had been descended the conveyances were again taken, and a journey to Hollingbury Hill commenced.

While on their excursion to Hollingbury Hill, or, as some writers describe it, "Hollingsbury" (the camp of the Hollings), the members accepted an invitation to visit Hollingbury Copse, the residence of Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, LL.D., V.P., F.R.S.

For an interesting description of the objects which Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps exhibited, the reader should refer to pp. 173-84.

At the conclusion of luncheon, "the health of Mr. and Mrs. Halliwell-Phillipps" was heartily drunk, Mr. George R. Wright remarking that they were especially indebted to Mrs. Halliwell-Phillipps, who had at a day or two's notice converted her drawing-room into a luncheon-room, simply to afford accommodation and pleasure to the members of the Association.

After luncheon the Shakespearean rarities were inspected with great pleasure, many of the visitors lingering long and regretting that they were unable to spend considerably more time in the work of inspection.

Towards half-past four o'clock, when the guests had assembled together, Mr. Thomas Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, moved a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Halliwell-Phillipps for their kind hospitality and the valued invitation to inspect the treasures which had been seen during the afternoon. He remarked that the Association had been visiting old camps and ancient habitations, but it was not until that day that the members had found the house of a real British chief. On behalf of those present he expressed gratitude for the cordial reception and great hospitality which had been extended to them, especially thanking Mrs. Halliwell-Phillipps for the active part she had taken in the arrangements for their convenience and comfort.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., who seconded Mr. Morgan, said this privilege was the happy termination of a most agreeable week, a week replete with intellectual and social enjoyments, supplemented by kind attentions shown to himself. Surrounded by friends, some of whom called up recollections of the foundation and early years of the Association, received with friendly hospitality by one of his earliest antiquarian colleagues, on this marked occasion he could but be deeply impressed by a mixed train of feelings, regrets for the departed, gratitude for the living. In seconding the vote of thanks to their host for his hospitable reception, for the extraordinary and rich intellectual feast, and for the sumptuous and elegant refectory which followed their morning's labours, he included also the lady of the house, the *uxor placens*, Mrs. Halliwell-Phillipps. What they had this day seen, admired, and wondered at was only a small portion of the labours of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps; his life had been devoted and sacrificed to Shakespeare, and now he had become the greatest exponent and illustrator of our greatest man. He must have been born for his mighty task. As the musician was born a musician, as a poet was born

a poet, and as an actor was born an actor, so Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps must have been born with that peculiar genius which had enabled him to accomplish so much. When he retired to the secluded and charming place which they were enjoying, he had some idea that it would be the terminus of his Shakespearean studies. He (the speaker) thought so; and said to him, "Shakespeare will one day give you up; but you will never leave him"; and so it had proved. After a life of incessant labour in the great city where the great dramatist played more than one part on the stage of life, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps repaired to Nature, and here they find him, like *Antæus*, touching his mother earth and arising with renewed strength and vigour. A departed mutual friend used to say, and, he thought, with truth, that for fear of incurring the odious charge of flattery, they often ran into the other extreme, and did not tell their friends to their face how much they valued them, deferring praise until the ear of their friends had become for ever deafened. It was not so with him; and no such false delicacy should that day hinder him from declaring that, having lived to see so much of their friend in all kinds of circumstances, having been able to know much of him in various aspects, knowing his bearing, his unconquerable perseverance, his unselfishness, his right-mindedness, and his benevolence, he was a model of a perfect man.

Mr. Roach-Smith's speech was received with great applause, and he was complimented on having said the right thing at the right time.

Mr. S. Timmins, of Birmingham, replied on behalf of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. He said their host had not heard the remarks which had been made, for as soon as he heard a vote of thanks was to be submitted, he withdrew. He, however, knew he valued the sentiments which had been expressed, and was pleased that his hospitality had been so kindly received.

Shortly afterwards the road was again taken, and most of those who had joined in the early part of the day's excursion proceeded to Hollingbury Camp, which has been briefly referred to above. From the camp the party drove direct to Brighton, arriving in good time to prepare for the evening meeting.

The closing meeting of the Association took place in the King's Apartments of the Royal Pavilion on Saturday evening.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Richard Sims, of the British Museum, to read his paper on "Sussex Monastic Chartularies and Early Charters relating to Brighton and Atlingworth."

At the conclusion of the paper, which will, we hope, be printed hereafter in the *Journal*,

Captain Lambert said he thought their grateful thanks were due to Mr. Sims for the interesting paper he had read.

The Chairman said there could be no doubt the deeds were valuable

as illustrations of the formation of the habits of the country with regard to the tenure of lands, and particularly with regard to ecclesiastical corporations, and great service had been done by the collection of the information. He was sure they would all join cordially in passing the motion which had been made by Mr. Lambert.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, Mr. H. J. F. Swayne, Recorder of Wilton, and others, took part.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock stated that Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam, who was to read a paper on the sepulchral effigy and tomb in the south transept of Chichester Cathedral, attributed to Richard de la Wick, was unavoidably unable to be present. He then described the purport of the paper, which will appear in full in the *Journal*.

After several votes of thanks to all who had contributed towards the success of the Congress, the Chairman closed the proceedings, and the party broke up at a late hour.

A special sermon in connection with the Congress was preached on Sunday morning in St. Peter's Church, Brighton, by the Ven. Archdeacon Hannah, and a large number of the members attended the service.

Monday was an extra day, and consisted of a visit to Southover Church and Priory, Lewes Castle and Museum, Alfriston, Wilmington Priory, and Pevensey Castle.

On Tuesday the party visited Worth Church and Cuckfield.





## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 7TH APRIL 1886.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were ordered to be returned for the following present to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1884-5."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a communication from the Rev. J. J. Daniell on a paved oval area with radiating lines at Langley Burrell, apparently of prehistoric date.

Mr. R. Ferguson, F.S.A., thought the description given resembled the "starfish cairns" in the Ulleswater district of the north of England.

Mr. Brock exhibited a large series of coins of the Roman period, having on the reverse a figure of Britannia.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a collection of flint arrow-heads from the Seine district, in the Department of Oise; a series of bronze *fibulae* of the Merovingian style and period; and three rectangular ivory plaques, elegantly carved, of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Roofs exhibited a black ware Nolan *amphora* or *œnochoe*, and a painted jug with a handle moulded on the one side with the head of a youth, and on the other with that of a maiden, late Greek style.

In the absence of Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following

### NOTES ON A ROMAN MONUMENT AT PIERS BRIDGE, DURHAM.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

A subject suggested by our proposed Congress in the north of England is the Roman monument found at Piers Bridge, and this will give an opportunity of running over, on the map, some of the Roman roads in the neighbourhood. We shall probably see many Roman inscribed stones either *in situ* or in museums; such as, with few exceptions,

fall into one of the four classes following :—1, sepulchral ; 2, mile-stones ; 3, altars ; 4, dedicatory.

The stone referred to is figured in Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, p. 782. He gives the inscription as follows :

D M  
CONDATI  
ATTONIVS  
QVINTIANVS  
ME NE XCC . MP

On the base, EXIVS . SOLLA.

Gibson remarks upon it : " This distinct mention of Condati would tempt us to believe that this was the ancient Condate, which Mr. Camden places in Cheshire ; which opinion one may close with the more freely because nothing (at least that he has told us of) induced him to settle it at Congleton beside the affinity of names." I hope to show presently that Camden was nearer the mark than Bishop Gibson.

The stone was found at Piers Bridge, or Priest Bridge, on the river Tees, about five miles up from Darlington, and near a station on the main Roman road. It is now a small village, but formerly appears to have been a fortified Roman encampment, from traces of the foundations, and the many Roman coins and other remains found there. The foundations of an ancient bridge over the river were visible till they were swept away by the great flood in 1771 ; and an aqueduct, which supplied the garrison with water from a rivulet on the north side, was discovered about the beginning of the last century, finely arched, about 1 yard wide, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  deep.<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, in describing a Roman altar to Jupiter Dolichenus, found within the parish church of Gainsford,<sup>2</sup> particularises some of the Roman remains found at Piers Bridge, and among them was the bronze figure of a ploughman and his team of two oxen, figured in T. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*. Horsley gives the fourth line of the inscription somewhat differently to Bishop Gibson. He has it, MEN ECCE IMP, and says " this is a funeral monument erected to one Condatus, in the usual tenor of such inscriptions ; though Gale and Thoresby have, from this inscription, mistakenly supposed Piers Bridge to be the Condate of the *Itinerary*."<sup>3</sup>

Bishop Gibson calls the stone an altar, and therefore places it in No. 3 of the classification I have given, while Horsley attributes it to the class of sepulchral monuments, No. 1. I beg to suggest that it belongs to neither the one nor the other, but rather to No. 2 ; the lower and greater part of the monument being a milestone, and the

<sup>1</sup> Brayley and Britton, vol. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, vol. xxii, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, p. 296.

upper part the *focus* of an altar improperly joined to it in after times ; and the letters D M probably then cut in on the altar-top to make it do duty as a sepulchral dedication-stone, *Diis manibus*. Such restorations by over-zealous antiquaries are not unknown to us.

I would read the fourth line as follows, though the first four letters are of uncertain meaning, ME OR VE NE XCCI MP, or extended in full, MEDIOLANENSIS OR VENONENSIS CXCI, the number 191 written in another form, which is expressed in the inscription by XCCI, MILLIA PASSVVM ; and the letters on the base I would extend as follows, EX IVSSV SOLVIT LIBERO (OR LIBENTI) ANIMO. The whole inscription on the milestone would then read thus in English:—From Condate, 191 miles. Antonius Quintianus of Mediolanum or Venonæ, by command (or permission) paid for this of his own free will.

This Antonius Quintianus may have been one of the *curatores viarum* residing at Mediolanum (a central town) or at Venonæ, where was a junction of roads (see map) ; or more probably a person of less importance,—perhaps one of the *mancipēs*, who were contractors for keeping portions of the road in repair, and not improbably authorised to levy a toll on the traffic ; so that it may have been his interest to cause the traffic to flow in this direction from Catterick, *viâ* Lincoln and Leicester, rather than by the cross-road through Yorkshire, by Calcaria, Cambodunum, and Mancunium (Manchester), which would have been a much nearer way ; and the shorter road may have been dangerous, through the opposition of the Brigantes in the West Riding.

It was usual for milestones to have the name of the Emperor inscribed on them, and not that of a private individual ; but this seems an exceptional case, by command ; and no less unusual was it to give the distance between places so far apart, instead of the next station. The special reason, therefore, for the erection of this stone may have been to show that the dedicator had this portion of the road under his control.

I find one L. R. Quintianus consul in A.U.C. 1041, or A.D. 289. This Antonius may have been a freedman adopting the names of his former masters. At all events it is a curious fact that, following this line of road from Catterick, which is not far from Piers Bridge, where the milestone was found, the distance fairly agrees with the 191 miles of the stone to Condate ; taking this to be Congleton in Cheshire, where Camden placed it. Modern writers consider it to be Kinderton ; but this is not far from Congleton, and the difference in total distance would be small, whether Condate is Congleton or Kinderton. Here is the route set out at length :

*Iter No. 5 Reversed.*

From Catterick to Isurium (Aldborough)	.	.	24 miles
" Eboracum (York)	.	.	17 "
" Legeolium	.	.	21 "
" Danum (Doncaster)	.	.	16 "
" Segelocum	.	.	21 "
" Lindum (Lincoln)	.	.	14 "

*Iter No. 6 Reversed.*

" Crococolana	.	.	12 "
" Ad Pontem	.	.	7 "
" Margidunum	.	.	7 "
" Verometum	.	.	12 "
" Ratæ (Leicester)	.	.	13 "
From Leicester, instead of running down to Venonæ, a distance of 12 miles, to cut off an angle, it is probable that a <i>via devia</i> led to the Trent river	.	.	14 "
Perhaps to Tamworth, thence by river navigation to Mediolanum, at Chesterton or Stone in Staffordshire (water-distance not being calculated in the <i>Itinerary</i> ), and from Mediolanum to Condate	.	.	19 "

(*Iter No. 10 reversed*) making total distance 197 "

The fractions of miles between the stations might cause the slight difference in the total distance, 197 miles instead of 191.

The portion of the road between Lincoln and Leicester was commented on by Mr. C. H. Compton in *Journal*, vol. xli, p. 43, and was the means of his introducing some interesting particulars of the remains of a Roman bridge over the Trent, lately found between Collingham and Cromwell, north of Newark; and the importance attached to bridges in this country by the Romans is becoming more and more manifest from the remains of their works discovered from time to time.

It will be seen on the map how Derbyshire is not traversed by any of the roads of the *Itinerary* which I take to be the main military ways. Other roads there must have been to open up the metallic wealth and commerce of the district. Mr. W. Thompson Watkin has been lately endeavouring to identify some of the Derbyshire towns from inscriptions and the names given in the fragmentary British geography of Ravennas.<sup>1</sup> The three pigs of lead now in the British Museum, found in Derbyshire, are at any rate an enduring memorial of Roman industry in these parts. The first, 22 inches in length, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches wide, and weighing 127 lbs., found near Wirksworth in 1777, bears the following inscription, IMP. CAES. HADRIANI. AVG. MET. LVY. The second, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and weighing 83 lbs.,

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Stations of Derbyshire*, by W. Thompson Watkin.

found near Matlock, is inscribed thus: L. ARVCONI. VERECVNDI. METAL. LVTVD. The third,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches thick, weighing 173 lbs., has the inscription, TI. CL. TR. LVT. BR. EX. ARG.

The milestone, 2 miles from Leicester (*Ratæ*), is an unfailing identification of the ancient and modern names of that place; and the milestone to which I have drawn attention at Piers Bridge will be an important testimony to the situation of Condate in Cheshire, if the line of argument followed in this paper is adopted as reasonable.

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited a series of plans and drawings of Queen Eleanor's Cross at Waltham, Essex, and made some remarks on the work proposed to be done by a committee in connection with the repair of that monument.

Mr. Brock and Mr. Wright took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, read a letter from Mr. R. Mann, of Bath, respecting the progress of affairs at Bath in connection with the proposed excavation of the site of the Roman hot baths, and deploring the probable destruction of part of the ancient remains, which he hoped the Association would endeavour to avert.

Mr. Brock announced that the Association had discussed the subject at the Council meeting in the afternoon, and a letter had been ordered to be forwarded, by the Secretary, to the responsible authorities, protesting, in the name of the Association, against the alleged projected destruction of the Roman remains.

### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1886.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library:

*To the Rev. B. H. Blacker* for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries." Part 30.

*To the Society*, for "Journal of the Society of Arts." Nos. 1742 and 1743.

„ „ for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects." Nos. 13 and 14.

*To the Sussex Archæological Society*, for "The Domesday Book in Relation to the County of Sussex." By Rev. W. D. Parish, Vicar of Selmeston, and Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral.

It was announced that the series of Rhind Lectures for the present year, in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, would



be delivered by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, C.E., F.S.A. Scot., in the Masonic Hall, George Street, Edinburgh, during the months of April and May. Members of the Association would be admitted.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a series of ancient views of Rheims, illustrative of the system of fortification adopted in mediæval times, which the plans showed was continued to the seventeenth century. Many curious points of detail were indicated by the engravings, and Mr. Brock called attention to the amount of information to be derived from the large series of Continental topographical views and plans which are still in existence to reward the collector. An elevation of the west front of the fine church of St. Nicaise was also shown,—a building demolished at the Revolution. The plan of the city showed the arrangement of its streets at right angles; a survival, most probably, of the system of old Roman times; similar, in this respect, to Gloucester and some other cities in England which were referred to. A curious cluster of small churches existed around the church of St. Nicaise, while a similar number were grouped around the church of St. Remi.

Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., exhibited a curious powder-flask formed of horn, having a series of New Testament subjects engraved on its sides, designed in very archaic manner. The workmanship is Scandinavian; the date being late in the seventeenth century, although the style and execution appear much earlier. It agrees, in this respect, with a somewhat similar object exhibited at a meeting not long since by Mr. Allen. None of the figures have nimbi.

The Chairman then read a paper on "Haslemere and its Locality", which it is hoped will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

A second paper was then read by Mr. Brock, in the absence of Mr. J. T. Irvine, its author, on "The Saxon Tower of Barnack Church, Northants", which it is expected will also be printed.

In the discussion which followed, and in which many of the members took part, some doubt was expressed at the late Saxon date which the author proposed for the remarkable work referred to. The paper was illustrated with a great number of carefully measured drawings of every portion of the building described, all of which had been drawn on the spot by Mr. Irvine.

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1886.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The ballot was declared open, and taken at the close of the usual interval with the following result :

President.

THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., F.R.S.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; G. TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM  
W. C. BORLASE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.  
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.  
JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., P.S.A.  
A. W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.  
THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.  
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.  
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.  
E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.  
S. I. TUCKER, Esq., *Somerset Herald*  
JOHN WALTER, Esq.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.  
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.  
(With a seat at the Council.)

Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

Council.

G. G. ADAMS, Esq., F.S.A.  
GEORGE ADE, Esq.  
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.S.A.  
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.  
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.  
ARTHUR COPE, Esq.  
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq.  
R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,  
F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.  
R. HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., F.S.A.  
GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.  
J. T. MOULD, Esq.  
W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.  
GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.  
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.  
W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

Auditors.

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

| RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq.

The Chairman read the

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
DECEMBER 31, 1885.

At the General Meeting held here five years ago I submitted the accounts received from the two principal sources of revenue ; that is, from the Congress receipts and from subscriptions and donations during the previous eight years, for the purpose of comparison. It may now be useful to set down the amounts derived from the same sources in the five years elapsed since that time, which show the following results :—

	CONGRESSES.	SUBSCRIPTIONS, ETC.
1881 . . .	£68 4 0	£324 4 0
1882 . . .	62 13 10	478 19 6
1883 . . .	67 14 6	286 13 0
1884 . . .	36 16 9	271 19 0
1885 . . .	34 8 2	323 8 0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5)269 17 3	5)1685 3 6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£53 19 5	£337 0 0

That is, a yearly average amount derived from the Congresses, of £53 : 19 : 5; and from subscriptions, etc., £337 a year.

By the balance-sheet for 1885, which I have now the honour of laying before the Meeting, it will be seen that we have drawn upon the money-reserve in hand, which was reduced on 31 December last to £60 12s., the amount in favour of the Association carried over to the new year; and this notwithstanding the economies practised in the *Journal* and its illustrations, which together are now, through the good management of our Editor, costing £50 a year less than they did seven years ago, with but little diminution in the letter-press, and none in the number of the plates.

What we want is that more money should be forthcoming from our Congresses, and we must endeavour by every means to persuade our friends to come forward more liberally at those large gatherings, in order that the efficiency of the *Journal* may be fully kept up. The coming Congress in Durham county promises well for a good campaign, according to Mr. George R. Wright's anticipations; which, doubtless, with his usual assiduity he will do all he can to see realised.

THOMAS MORGAN.

The adoption of the Report and balance-sheet was put and carried unanimously.

# British Archaeological Association.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1885.

### RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1884 in favour of the Association	102	19	10
Annual subscriptions and donations	£296	2	0
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	27	6	0
Received in advance for Index II	323	8	0
Sale of publications	0	5	0
Balance of receipts from the Brighton Congress	20	0	3
	34	8	2

### EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	£63	7	4
Illustrations to the same	5	0	0
Less donation by Mr. T. J. Pinches			
Miscellaneous printing and advertising	31	18	6
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	20	2	0
Rent for 1885, and clerk's salary	61	19	10
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	9	13	10
Insurance of books at 19 Montague Place	0	10	0
Insurance on goods at the Printing Office in Sar-dinia Street	5	5	0
Balance to new year in favour of the Association	60	12	0
	£481	1	3

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct, the balance in favour of the Association being £60 : 12 : 0.

A. CHASEMORE } *Auditors.*  
R. HOWLETT }

April 30, 1886.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the

HON. SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1885.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the past year, 1885.

1. By comparing the list of members in the current part of the *Journal*, dated 31 March 1886, a total of 442 names is shown against 441 names in the *Journal* of 1885, and 433 in that of 1884. We hope that this very slight increase may be better maintained in years to come.

2. During 1885 a large number of complete works, or parts of works, relating to archæology and antiquities have been presented to the Library of the Association. We hope that the removal of the Library to a larger room in Mr. Brock's Offices, 36 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., may result in more frequent consultation of this valuable Library by the members. Forty-one of the most important papers read at the recent Congress held at Tenby, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the year 1885, which is illustrated with fifty-seven plates or woodcuts, comprising upwards of one hundred separate objects, some of which have been either wholly or in part contributed by the liberality of our friends and Associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf. The Hon. Secretaries are glad to announce that they have in hand a large number of papers accepted by the Council for publication and illustration in the *Journal* as circumstances may permit.

W. DE G. BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*  
E. P. L. BROCK }

The Chairman then read

REVIEW OF THE SESSION.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

It has been my custom at this season to sum up, as it were, a few of the main subjects of your deliberations before the close of the session ; they have been sufficiently varied this winter both as to dates and substance, yet attention has been more especially fixed upon obscure periods of history upon which documentary evidence has not been fully brought to bear, and which may be greatly illustrated from archæological remains by a patient and painstaking study of the lessons which they teach. We may well place first in this category the exhibition of casts and photographs from Babylonian and Assyrian cylinder-seals in the British Museum by Mr. Theodore G. Pinches, and



his history and interpretation of the designs upon many of them, with an account of engraving upon hard stones among these ancient nations. He carried us back to the earliest specimen in the British Museum, attributed to the thirty-eighth century B.C., with its inscription of seven lines by Sargon, "the Messenger King".

Another period, the Anglo-Saxon of this country, nearly as obscure as the Babylonian, although so much nearer our own times, was scientifically treated last year by Mr. J. Romilly Allen in two papers on sculptured stone crosses, illuminated MSS., and metalwork. These have been supplemented by a third on the same subject, in which the various remains discovered have been summed up. The arguments founded upon them furnish a valuable insight into the history of the times, and the subject may be further worked out by bringing together other justificatory incidents.

As the Goths are said by Isidore (*Chronicon Gothorum*) to be a very ancient people springing from the kingdom of the Scyths, so our chroniclers, in a religious point of view, make the Saxons to have issued from or succeeded the nation of the Scyths before being brought under control of the Roman Government.

Mr. J. R. Allen, in the case of the remains which he has classified, has, from the known dates of some of the examples and their connection with historical personages, founded a reasonable theory as to the dates of others without inscriptions, and has traced the progression from rude crosses and stones with rude Roman lettering to the artistic crosses of the succeeding centuries up to the eleventh and twelfth. He has shown himself not unmindful of disturbing elements in the chronology, which a cautious antiquary will always keep in view, that is, when earlier and later styles overlap each other, just as happens in the case of the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages in the classification under another branch of archæology. Sometimes the quality of the material at hand, as well as the want of skill of the artists in a particular district, may disturb the arrangement by dates. Thus, in those parts of the country where the stone is primitive rock, and very hard to work, as in Cornwall, Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and the Isles, the poor and outlying inhabitants, even up to a late period, could do little more than honour their departed saint or warrior with a rude inscription on a rude stone or cross; yet we see in the manuscripts dating from soon after the Roman period a reproduction of the geometrical forms, the interlaced and spiral patterns, as exhibited in the Roman mosaic pavements; but these manuscripts are tasteful works of educated monks who have copied and improved upon the earlier designs in the quiet seclusion of their cells. It is very reasonable to suppose, as Mr. J. Romilly Allen suggests, that these works of art have given ideas for much of the elaborate stone carving on the stone crosses of succeeding ages.

Mr. Allen described the famous illuminated Gospels of Lindisfarne and those of Æthelwold the Bishop, the Book of Kells, and the Gospels of Durham, with other early MSS., as instances of ornamentation corroborative of his classification.

Archæological remains of the seventh century are especially interesting, as this is a period of the utmost importance, not in our own history only, but in that of the ancient world. I will therefore refer to some of them, and first will name the small coffin-lids found in the cemetery of a convent at Hartlepool in the years 1833, 1838, and 1843. Hein established the convent, and became its first Abbess. She left in 649, and her successor was the celebrated St. Hilda, daughter of Hereric, nephew of King Eadwini. Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, gave her a hide of land north of the Wear, whereon she constructed a small monastery. On the resignation of Hein, Hilda became Abbess of Hartlepool. In 655 King Oswin devoted his daughter Aelfled to a religious life, and committed her to Hilda's care. Two years afterwards the latter founded a monastery at Whitby, and relinquished her former charge. Aelfled accompanied her, and at her death, in 680, succeeded to the office of Abbess.

The names on the various stones in the cemetery at Hartlepool, with the exception of Edwini<sup>1</sup> and Vermund, are those of females, as Hildithryth and Hilddigyth in Runic letters, Berchtgyd in Saxon characters; another, Hanegneub. The skulls were laid upon flat pillow-stones about 5 inches square. The grave-stones on the surface of the ground varied from 1 foot square, the size of the largest, down to  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches of the smallest (see *Journal*, vol. i, where they are figured), and therefore the grave-stone memorial would only cover a portion of the coffin.

The small size of these memorial stones may suggest a reason for the small dimensions of a coped stone found at Bexhill Church in Sussex, which has been described to us in another paper by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, in which he calls this by far the most interesting sculpture in the south of England, having the characteristics of northern workmanship, and being of a date not later than the eighth century. Another small stone of this early date is mentioned by Mr. Daniel H. Haigh, as found at Wensley Church,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by 9 inches broad, "with the name DONFRID in Saxon characters, all in relief."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Allen refers to the shaft of a cross with interlaced work at Collingham, near Richmond, Yorks, inscribed in Runes to the memory of Oswini, ruler of the Deiri in 651, and to that most beautiful monument

<sup>1</sup> This Edwini or Edelwini, commemorated on two of them, was probably the Count of that name who at the command of King Oswin murdered Oswini, King of the Deiri, in the year 651, at Gilling, near Richmond, Yorks. (Bede, *H. E.*, iii, c. 14, quoted by D. H. Haigh.)

<sup>2</sup> Figured in *Journal*, vol. i, p. 136.

of its class at Bewcastle in Cumberland, with an inscription in Runes on the side, showing that it was set up by Hwaetred to the memory of King Alfred.

These various relics of the seventh century or beginning of the next are links in a chain of history beginning with Edwin of Northumbria, who married the saintly Etheldreda. He was converted to Christianity in 625, and at his death in 633, his cousin Osric succeeded to Deira, or the country north of the Humber as far as the wall which thus divided the kingdom of Northumbria into two parts. Both he and Eanfrith, king of Bernicia, restored paganism in their respective kingdoms, until Christianity was restored by Oswald, who again ruled over the whole of Northumbria until he was slain at Oswald's tree (Oswestry) in Shropshire, in 642, by Penda, the great heathen king of Mercia. The heathen, however, perished at the battle of Winwidfield, near Leeds, at which were present both Oswy and Oswin, the kings of Bernicia and Deira. Oswy became the powerful monarch of the whole of Northumbria by the murder of his rival Oswin, and then took possession of the whole of Mercia, and invaded Scotland. Penda married Alchfleda, and after he was baptised, had that part of Mercia which lies south of the Trent assigned to him. He was murdered at the Easter festival in 655.

The century was famous for the devout ladies whose names appear in history, and many of them figure on the stones above referred to, as well as in East Anglia.

Hereswitha was the wife of a king of East Anglia, and sister of St. Hilda, who founded Whitby Abbey. Sexburga was her daughter, who married Ercenbert, king of Kent; Ethelburga, another daughter, became Abbess of Barking; Whitberga, another, founded a nunnery at East Dereham, Norfolk; Etheldreda, a fourth daughter, founded the Abbey of Ely, after separation from her husband, King Edwin. Ermanilda was a daughter of this last, and S. Werburg again was her daughter. Milberga was one of the three daughters of St. Merewald, who was son of Penda, the heathen king of Mercia. Born in 662, she became Abbess of Wenlock. It will be remembered that St. Cuthbert was sixth bishop of Lindisfarne, a see founded by King Oswald of Northumbria in 635, and Aidan was the first pastor of the flock.

We shall recall to mind the career of the illustrious Wilfrith in this district before he went to convert Sussex to Christianity in 688, and of Ecgfrith of Northumbria, who invades Ireland in 684, and being defeated by the Piets, whom he also invades, dies the next year at Drumnechtan.

Alfred was the eldest, though illegitimate, son of Oswy, and reigned over Northumbria, 685-705. He had been a pupil of Wilfrid, and his learning attracted the attention of Aldhelm, the cultivated suc-

cessor of Maidulphus, the Scot who from Malmesbury disseminated his own taste for letters.

This century, if memorable for the severe conflicts of orthodox and heterodox Christians, which the Greek Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, struggled much, and with some success, to reconcile, yet the progress of Christianity through the land was onward and constant. Rome studied to conciliate the Eastern emperors at Constantinople, and a column set up in Rome to the Emperor Phocas, who reigned 602-610, may be taken as an evidence of this. Heraclius, successor to Phocas in the purple, cast a last ray of military glory over a reign of thirty-two years by his expeditions against Persia, and his final overthrow of that ancient kingdom with the flight and death of Chosroes; but out of the ashes of the Persian kingdom arose another, that of the Arabs under Mahomet, which, after swallowing up northern Africa as far as the pillars of Heracles, expanded into the Moorish kingdom of Spain, which lasted in more or less force during eight hundred years, spreading consternation throughout Christendom.

A handsome Anglo-Saxon jewel, in the form of a gold cross, studded on one side with stones, was found at Lakenheath, Suffolk, and in it was inserted a coin of Heraclius, and his son, Heraclius Constantine,<sup>1</sup> which is an instance of the interest taken in this country in affairs of the East at the time. The course of history in the following centuries is equally confirmed by the crosses of which Mr. Allen has furnished examples; thus, the remarkable ascendancy of Mercia in the eighth century, and the spread of orthodox Christianity westward by its means, is marked at various stages by the crosses set up, or churches built and dedicated to some Mercian saint who had been instrumental in spreading the faith.<sup>2</sup> The two crosses of Carew and of Nevern in Pembrokeshire mark its course, and from them the faith spread into West Wealas, or Cornwall.

Mr. Walter de Gray Birch has given us some interesting notes on the inscription of the Carew cross, which he interprets as of the son of Ilteut, the son of Ecett or Echwydd; the first name having reference to St. Iltyd, well known in Welsh hagiology; the last, under different forms, appearing on ancient monuments in Devonshire, Anglesey, and Ireland. Mr. C. Lynam has also given us structural

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, "the supremacy of Mercia in the south of England during the eighth century" has been shown by Mr. T. Kerslake through a series of examples ingeniously made prominent. He says "it was the custom, about A.D. 703, for some noble or substantial men, not to erect a church upon their estates, but to hold in honour a lofty, holy cross. This seems a strong confirmation of a recent suggestion of Professor Earle, that the English word *church* is a transliteration, and scarcely that, of the word *crux*. In planting these crosses the old lords of manors were sowing the seeds of what are to us parishes."



particulars of the cross,<sup>1</sup> which Mr. Romilly Allen attributes to the ninth century, and considers that this and the cross at Nevers, as well as the cross of Samson at Llantwit Major in Glamorganshire, and Eindon Cross at Golden Grove, were all designed by the same artist, for the several reasons he gives.

The infusion of the Scandinavian element into the designs, after the invasions at the end of the eighth century, has been pointed out, and the mixture of the old pagan myths with other types suggested by Christian influences. The Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., has given an instance of this in his account of some sculptured shafts in the parish church of Leeds.<sup>2</sup> On the front and back of one of these he discovers the Evangelists by their emblems, of whom there are three; the fourth, or St. John, he supposes to be missing, through the loss of the upper portion of the obelisk; and at the bottom of the shaft on the front and back faces are two uncouth figures. That in front he interprets as Sigurd, with a double-edged sword, with which he slew the monstrous worm or serpent seen hanging in knots by his side; the other figure at the back is that of one holding upon his head a female figure, supposed to be the swan-maiden, whose wings are slung to the captor's side. This captor being Reginu, the king's smith, as appears by the emblems of his craft,—pincers, hammer, anvil and trowel,—having reference to a myth concerning the pedigree of King Onlaf or Olave, great-great-grandson of Ragner Lodbrog, whose wife Aslauga was a daughter of Sigurd Fafnesbane. Another fragment of a cross in the same church has upon it the name of Onlaf in Runic characters, which Mr. Browne attributes to the same monument set up to Olave, son of Godfrey, who came to York in 939, and was killed soon after at the battle of Tynningham in 941; after which, his cousin, also called Olave, king of Dublin, came to rule over Northumbria, 941 to 945, or thereabouts. This interpretation by Mr. Browne seems as plausible as it is ingenious; the shaft taking root in the pagan mythology, and rising to the Evangelists, whose influence, subject to the fluctuating fortunes and ideas of a long list of kings, spread over Northumbria since the days of Edwin, who fell in the battle of Hatfield in 633, when, with his army, perished for a time Christianity in his kingdom.

The list of stones with interlaced ornament in England has been compiled by Mr. J. Romilly Allen and the Rev. G. F. Browne in the *Journal*,<sup>3</sup> and will be very useful, as no work has been hitherto written to embrace the whole of those known in England, of which Mr. Allen names 180 of dates before the Conquest, though the crosses of Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall, Wales, and Isle of Man have been fully illustrated by pencil and by pen. This session, Dr. Fryer has

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, xli, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.



given us a paper on the crosses of Cornwall, with models of some of them.

Mr. Brock, among his numerous exhibitions of miscellaneous objects this session, produced, on the part of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., from South Moulton Church, Northamptonshire, a squeeze of an interesting piece of Saxon interlaced work found under one of the piers of the south aisle arcade, the church being under restoration. There are patterns on the face, now buried, and these, when exposed to view, will be noted by Sir Henry Dryden. Mr. Brock has done much to bring forward the small buildings which sufficed for the early converts to Christianity; and a newly discovered Saxon chapel at Deerhurst has been described, with plans and inscriptions, by the Rev. G. Butterworth, which strongly bears on our Anglo-Saxon period. The early chapels, or basilicas, or baptisteries were attached to houses where a few recluses lived together for study and the exercise of their religion. Like Aldhelm, however, they could hardly be called recluses, in a strict sense, for they promoted education among the laity, and with it the knowledge of the gospel. These small and unpretending establishments increased with the growth of knowledge and Christianity, as did Aldhelm's at Malmesbury; and I would suggest whether this small *aula regia* for ecclesiastics, in the eighth or following century, often described as *reguli* and *subreguli* at the earlier period, may not have given the idea of an *aula regia* to the later foundation of Odda in the time of Edward the Confessor, when a larger establishment was required. I prefer, then, to consider that those were right who assigned the "Odda Stone" now at Oxford to the larger church of the monastery of Deerhurst, rather than to the small chapel lately discovered; and if, as seems reasonable to suppose, the slab built into a portion of the farmhouse belonged to the altar of the small chapel, then I suggest that the dedicatory inscription would rather be to Saint Peter than to the Holy Trinity. The missing letters might be as well filled up "in honorem Sancti Petri", and of a dedication of the eighth century this would be the most probable restoration. The small chapel would still be retained by the Deerhurst establishment, out of devotion to the original shrine of the neighbourhood where religion was first taught and practised, and the original dedication would be retained, whatever might be the dedication of their larger and more recent church.

I throw out these suggestions for the consideration of those who have studied the subject. The language of the period under review has been elucidated by the paper of Mr. E. Maunde Thompson on *Ælfrie's Vocabulary*, and by that of Mr. D. Slater on the *Exeter Book*, which breathes, in the Anglo-Saxon poems contained therein, the spirit of the age, and allusions to its customs. Then I must especially notice the description of the *Domesday Book* given by Mr. Birch, and his

catalogue *raisonné* of the various copies of it in MS., and of commentators on portions of it, when he suggested the formation of a *Domesday Book Society* for printing and editing the complete text, a work as useful as it would be laborious, and demanding the ingenuous co-operation of many skilled professors. This suggestion has been already set on foot in this appropriate year 1886, being the eight-hundredth anniversary of the completion of the great national terrier. Many crosses will be found among the boundary marks which no longer exist, but their position may give evidence favourable to the theories of Mr. Romilly Allen and Mr. Kerslake. The very complete description by Mr. J. T. Irvine of Barnack Church, Northamptonshire, and drawings on which the architectural details are delineated, show a state of the art of church building which heretofore has not been allowed to the Anglo-Saxon period. He has further exhibited drawings of many sculptured stones of early date found in Northamptonshire. This gentleman's very complete account of the church in Dover Castle, with illustrative plates, which have appeared this last year in the *Journal*, will recall the interesting discussions held on the subject at the Dover Congress. In like manner late to appear, but redoubled in interest since it was read prior to the Tenby Congress, is the Rev. Mr. Mayhew's paper on Tenby and St. David's. He has taken up his subject as a labour of love, and we can better appreciate it now that the scenes described have been visited.

To return to the nuns of the seventh century. Notice has been publicly given by the Rev. M. Woodward of the finding of a reliquary, built up in a wall of the parish church of Folkestone, which contained the bones of St. Eanswith, who had established a nunnery not far from the spot, and of which she was the patron saint. This lady was daughter of Eadbald, and granddaughter of Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent. Mr. Syer Cuming has given an account of the legendary life of St. Milburga, the Abbess of Wenlock, to whom allusion has already been made. A record of Spanish nuns of St. Dominick, of much later date, has been given by Mr. W. H. Rylands in eight deeds of professed nuns at Barcelona, which are interesting for their heraldic embellishments, for the names of distinguished ecclesiastics to whom the nuns professed allegiance, and for the language of Catalonia in which they are written. This is remarkable as one of the early forms of the Romance language derived from the Latin, yet so different from the Spanish.

When the principality of Catalonia was annexed to Spain, it was agreed that the Catalans should preserve their own laws, and retain their separate cortes or parliament to legislate for the principality. This was at a time when Catalonia, one of the first trading nations of the Mediterranean, was making treaties of commerce with the Greek

Emperor at Constantinople, and with the Western powers as well as with the Mahometan State.

The session has been full of interest in exhibitions of objects of more modern date, and in papers on a variety of subjects, but my observations having extended to so great a length on Anglo-Saxon history, I am unable to advert to them, except in so far as to say that the official account of our proceedings will show that they were not of less interest than those to which I have particularly referred. Many of the subjects discussed will doubtless receive further illustration at the coming Congress in Durham county, which, there is every reason to believe, will be one of especial interest.

A few last words before parting shall be said of some Roman antiquities brought to our notice at evening meetings; but first, with sorrow, I have to name the late Dr. Samuel Birch, Keeper of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, for about the same time that the paper, read by himself at the last Congress, on British Coins, appeared in our *Journal*, was published the account of his life from various sources, compiled by his son, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, showing the broadness of his erudition, and the regret with which the announcement of his decease at the close of the year 1885 was received by antiquaries and friends throughout the world.

Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, exhibited a Roman stone *cista* of good carved work, on which one out of two inscriptions was to the memory of a child three years old, who had received the dole of corn or bread given gratuitously by the State. In this case he had probably been made a recipient for the purpose of recording his existence in the family genealogy. Juvenal criticises the abuse of the dole, when an empty palanquin with the curtains drawn was brought round to receive it in the name of a lady supposed to be inside. "This is my Galla", says the husband; "dismiss her quickly. What are you waiting for?" "Galla, put your head out." "Do not disturb her, she is asleep."

The remarkable memorial stone with a Greek inscription in hexameter verses found at Brough in Westmoreland, was brought before us in a good photograph; the verses were translated and the stone described at the same time by the Rev. Preb. H. M. Scarth.

Referring to the paper I contributed on the Baths of Aquæ-Solis, I am favoured by Mr. Richard Howlett with an extract from the *Gesta Stephani* to show that the author who composed the work, between 1141 and 1148, had seen the Roman baths at Bath in daily use as a health and pleasure resort. I will transcribe the passage in full: "Est civitas a Bristoa vi milliariis distans, ubi fonticuli per occultas fistulas aquæ, ex humano ingenio et artificio calefactæ, ex abstrusis terræ visceribus sursum in receptaculum per cameratas arenationes

<sup>1</sup> *Sat. I, v.* 124-6.

glorioso dispositum emanant, thermasque temperatas et sanas, aspectuque delectabiles in medio civitatis efficiunt quæ civitas Batha vocatur, quod, ex Anglicæ linguæ proprietate trahens vocabulum Balneum interpretatur, eo quod ad illam ex omni Anglia infirmi causa in salubribus aquis diluendi, sani vero gratia mirabiles calidæ aquæ eruptiones videndi et in eis balneandi, concurrere solent." In the same way Roman baths, hypocausts, flues, and theatres were still preserved in the twelfth century at Caerleon in South Wales, as attested by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerarium*, Book v.

At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, a series of votes of thanks to the President and Officers, and to all those who by their labours had assisted the Association at the Congress and during the Session, were proposed and carried unanimously. Afterwards the meeting was closed by the Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1886.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. CONGRESS SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

E. W. Bulkeley, Esq., Stockport, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To T. A. Wise, Esq., M.D., for "History of Paganism in Caledonia."  
4to. 1884.

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xliii, No. 169. 1886.  
" " for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating  
to Montgomeryshire." Part xxxviii, April 1886, vol. xix, Pt. i.

Mr. John M. Wood exhibited a plan and drawings of Lees or Leighs Priory, Essex, and read a series of descriptive notes of the Priory, which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

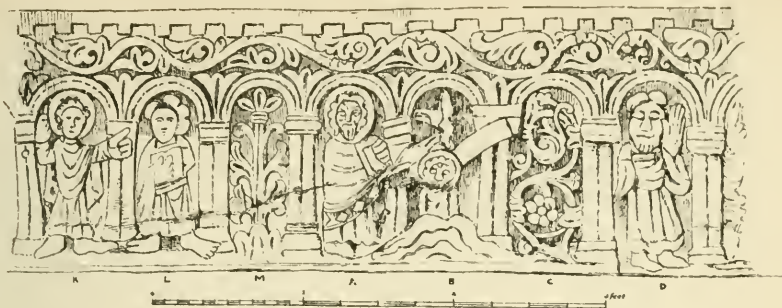
Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Peterborough, forwarded for exhibition a drawing to scale of the sculptured Norman font in Wansford or Walmesford Church. (See Plate opposite.) The sculptures consist of the baptism of Our Lord, and two persons in combat with cudgels. Mr. Irvine also desired to announce that there are traces of a Roman building above ground in Lawn Wood, on the road from Helpstone to Aston.

Miss Turnour sent for exhibition a Mexican jar covered with curious and grotesque animals and other emblems.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited photographs of the present condition of the ancient sculptured slabs in Chichester Cathe-



1.



2.



1. 2. WANSFORD CHURCH, NORTHANTS.—FIGURES AROUND THE FONT.



Sketch, showing position of the Figures, Wansford Font.

CASTOR CHURCH, NORTHANTS.—SCULPTURE ON THE CAPITALS OF TOWER ;  
SOUTH ARCH, WEST SIDE.

J. T. Irvine, dell.





dral; and other photographs cut up, and arranged according to his views of the proper arrangement of the broken pieces; and read a paper on the subject. The paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. G. M. Hills, architect to the Cathedral at Chichester, gave a general assent to the conclusions of the author, and assured the Association that the suggested alterations would receive careful investigation at the hands of the Cathedral authorities.

Mr. R. Howlett read a paper "On the Alleged Loss of Historical MSS. after the Dissolution of Monasteries", which will be printed hereafter. In the discussion which ensued Mr. Birch and Mr. Brock took part.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, then read a paper on the "Discovery of an Ancient Ship at Brigg, Lincolnshire", and exhibited a series of views in connection with the discovery. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1886.

W. H. COPE, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

John Astleigh, Esq., Stoneleigh Terrace, Coventry  
 H. Talbot Moore, Esq., West Coker, Yeovil  
 Mrs. R. Peek, 54 Woodstock Road, Bedford Park, W.  
 Thos. F. Ticknor, Esq., Hertford Street, Coventry  
 J. Vallentin, Esq., Church Street, Lambeth  
 Rev. H. R. Whitehead, M.A., Norley Vicarage, Cheshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To S. W. Kershaw, Esq., F.S.A.*, for "Refugee Inscriptions in the Cathedral and Churches of Canterbury." 1886.

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", January 1886. Fifth Series, No. IX.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read some notes on the Saxon font at Wing, Bedfordshire, and drew attention to other ancient fonts at Potterne, Deerhurst, etc.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a drawing by Mr. J. T. Irvine, of sculpture at Caistor, carved with a subject cognate to that on the Wansford font, exhibited at the last meeting. (See Plate.)

Mr. Irvine writes : " I send a sketch of a cap in the west respond of the south arch under the tower of Caistor Church (that into the south transept). On it is the same subject as was found on the font at Walmesford or Wansford Church, but with the addition of a female figure weeping. It evidently relates to some special history. No doubt both carvings are of the same date. Outside the chancel-wall, over the priest's door, at Caistor, is the well-known inscription of its dedication, given by J. H. Parker, Esq., C.B., in his last edition of Rickman. I find this is not very accurate. It omits at least all the contraction-marks; and at present I am in much doubt if the date should not be read 1114 instead of 1124. If the first, it would be the very year Abbot Ernulf went to reign at Rochester as Bishop. The inscription evidently relates, not to the present but to the former chancel, remains of which are seen worked up in the present one rebuilt. There seems little reason to doubt that the acting person at Caistor, in the building of the beautiful tower, was Abbot Ernulf, and that his carvers and workmen executed the cap of which the drawing is sent for exhibition, as well as the Walmesford font and the Norman chancel-arch in the not very distant church of Morbourn in Huntingdonshire; at both which churches a peculiarly ornamental base, presenting a sort of triangular scale-ornament, exists,—a peculiarity that came to light, in remains of his period, at Rochester during the late restoration of the south transept of that Cathedral, and now seen in its crypt.

"The weapons used (a mace) in the carvings at Walmesford font, and on this Caistor capital, are similar, as well as the dress of the persons engaged. Can it refer to any passage in the life of St. Cyneburga, whose monastery was at Caistor, or earlier, it may be, on that acre and a half, called 'Cyneburga's Acre', held by Peterborough Monastery in later times at Gunwade? The Roman road, which crossed the river Nen by a bridge below Caistor, divided at once into three lines: one went, *viâ* Southport, to Leicester; one by the Langditch and Lollham Bridges to Lincoln; while a third, easterly one, ran up to the east of Caistor, known as Cyneburga's Way, and passes as a high ridge along the hill-top, entering Milton Park, where it must have joined a fourth, which coming east from the forest-land of Northampton, passed in an equally lofty mound-shape below Upton, a hamlet of Caistor; passing on its way Peterborough (to the south), *viâ* Westwood, and crossing the marsh-lands to Norfolk."

Mr. R. Mann, of Bath, sent for exhibition three photographs of a sculptured stone, supposed to be Roman, recently found during excavations on the site of the Roman bath.

Mr. Roofe exhibited a very extensive collection of flint flakes, knives, arrow-heads, and palæolithic weapons of chipped flint, gathered recently by him on the gravel at Godalming, Surrey; together with three

spurious specimens of "Flint Jack" arrow-heads, exhibited for comparison with true specimens by the members.

Mr. A. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a miscellaneous collection of matrices and impressions of mediæval seals, and read the following :—

### ON SOME ANCIENT SEALS.

BY ALGERNON BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A.

The first of the seals which I exhibit, to which I am desirous of directing attention, was purchased many years ago at a sale of antiquities, in London, belonging to the late Mr. Bousfield. It is made of bronze, and the device is a griffin segreant surmounting a lion dormant, with a sprig of foliage in its mouth. Whether any credence can be placed in the suggestion on the card attached to the seal, that it belonged to Richard de Redvers, fifth Earl of Devon, who died in 1184, I am unable to decide. On some of the seals of the Earls of Devon a griffin is displayed, either alone or surmounting a hound or wolf, out of whose mouth issue flames.<sup>1</sup> The devices, however, on the copies of the seals taken from charters belonging to the De Redvers family, which I have seen, do not bear much resemblance to the device on the seal before us, except that they represent a griffin and a kind of dog ; but this device<sup>2</sup> was one commonly borne by families belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In a paper by the late Mr. Planché, "On the Lords of the Isle of Wight", printed in vol. ii of the *Journal* of this Association, he states that Richard de Redvers, the third of his name, fifth Earl of Devon, and seventh lord of the Isle, married Margaret, daughter and one of the heirs of John Lord Bisset, and died without issue in 1184. And he proceeds to say, with reference to the subject of armorial bearings, that this Richard the third is the first Earl of his family who (according to Brooke and Vincent) bore the heraldic coat of De Redvers, *Or*, a lion rampant *azure*. The seal of his eldest brother, Baldwin, had not been seen by him ; but those of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather exhibit a griffin either alone or seizing on some smaller animal which it would puzzle a herald or naturalist to blazon or describe. In no case are these devices represented on a shield, and therefore, previous to 1161<sup>3</sup> at least, there is no example of a regular heraldic bearing in the family of De Redvers.

With reference to this question, however, it may be noticed that the arms of Richard de Revers or Riparius, first Earl of Devonshire (*ob.*

<sup>1</sup> Planché.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A.

<sup>3</sup> Richard, the third Earl of Devon, died in 1161 or 1162, and was succeeded by his sons, Baldwin, fourth Earl, and Richard, fifth Earl.

1107), are stated in *Heylyn's Help to English History* (1773), p. 220, to have been *Gules*, a griffin segreant *or*.

It is beyond the sphere of this paper to discuss the origin of armorial bearings, which, with few exceptions, do not appear to have come into use before at least the end of the twelfth century, although certain devices had long been adopted by some families on seals, or used as personal decorations. Stephen Earl of Richmond is said to have sealed with seven fleurs-de-lis (1137); Waleran, Count of Meulan (*ob.* 1166), is said to have used a heraldic seal; Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, is fabled to have borne a wolf's head; Magnaville, Earl of Essex (1144), etc. Mr. Lower, quoting from Dallaway, states that the earliest representation of arms upon a seal is of the date 1187. (P. 22.)

Most of the earliest shields are without any device whatever, and were only distinguished by the manner in which they were coloured. With the gradual growth of the use of armorial bearings, it became the custom to allow a knight, when he had gained the right of bearing a charge upon his escutcheon, by some exploit in arms, to select a device which had not been already appropriated. Hence, before the establishment of an authentic record of armorial bearings, which did not take place until the reign of Henry III.,<sup>1</sup> much confusion arose with reference to the ownership of particular devices.

The next seal on which I have to offer some remarks came into my possession many years ago from my late brother, Mr. John Brent, F.S.A. It is apparently made of bronze, and an impression was exhibited by him at a meeting of this Association on 9th Sept. 1846, and a short account of it given in vol. ii of the *Journal*. The inscription round the rim is "Sigillum Thomæ Maunsell"; and the arms are, *Or*, on a fesse dancetté *gules*, three lions rampant *argent*, impaling *vairy*; crest, a bird. It had been recently found near the Reculvers, and appears to belong to the period of Henry VI. Mr. Planché observed at the time that "the arms of Maunsell in the Heralds' College were not dated, and he had not yet found the pedigree."

I have for some time past been desirous of obtaining further information concerning this seal; but until quite lately I have never had an opportunity of investigating the matter. I have recently seen, however, a work printed in 1850, for private circulation, by Mr. William W. Mansell, entitled *An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Ancient Family of Maunsell, Mansell, Mansel*; by which it appears that Mr. W. Mansell was aware of the existence of this seal, as he exhibits an engraving of its impression, and describes the arms as *Or*, on a fesse indented *gules*, three lions rampant *argent*, impaling *vairy ar.* and *azure*. He also makes the following remarks thereon: "A bronze

<sup>1</sup> First Roll of Arms about A.D. 1250.



seal of the Mannsells ('*Sigillum Thomae Maunsell*') was found last year<sup>1</sup> near to the Reculvers, while excavating for the Dover Railway. Apparently it is of the period of Henry VI, and resembles in some degree the seal discovered in the foundation of London Bridge, the charges as well as the crest being in both instances the same.<sup>2</sup> In the twenty-eighth year of that reign (*anno* 1450) there was a Thomas Maunsell, of whom mention is made in Deven's *Issues of the Exchequer*. He seems to have been Paymaster or Receiver-General to the Duke of Somerset, the King's Lieutenant-General in France, and had money from various noblemen and prelates to pay the wages of divers men-at-arms and archers proceeding to Normandy for defence of those parts." He also mentions a Thomas Maunsell, whose name appears at the *Visitation of London*, 1633-34, and who lived in "Wood Street, over against St. Albans's Church". He bore similar arms and crest, with a crescent for difference, and impaled *argent*, on a chevron *sable*, between three falcons *gules*, two and one, three stag's heads cabossed of the field.

I have seen a pedigree of Mansell or Maunsell (Harl. MS. 1476, f. 453, Vis. 1633-34), which records a Thomas Mansell of London, *anno* 1634, and also a Thomas Mansell of Gray's Inn, Esq., who was his first cousin. And at folio 462 of the same *Visitation*, Thomas Mansell, of Gray's Inn, is stated to have married Anne, daughter of John Bartholomew of Sandwich. The arms impaled on the seal before us do not, however, agree with any of those borne by the family of Bartholomew which I have been able to discover, and I think there can be no doubt that the seal belongs to an earlier period than the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that it is not unlikely to have been the property of Thomas Maunsell, who was Paymaster-General to the Duke of Somerset in 1450.

I also exhibit an ecclesiastical seal which I recently purchased at the shop of a dealer of antiquities in Avignon. The inscription round the rim is, however, so much defaced, that I am unable to obtain any clue to its meaning. So many of these seals are found to be forgeries, that I should hesitate to give an opinion whether this one be a forgery or not, but I am inclined to think that it has been manufactured from the impression of an ancient seal.

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In the discussion which ensued Mr. W. de G. Birch pointed out that the first seal mentioned was far later than B. de Redvers, and

<sup>1</sup> That would be 1849. Unless, therefore, two seals have been found at the Reculvers, this statement as to the date when it was found appears to be a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> The seal referred to was that of a John Mannsell, and is described as being of the early part of the fourteenth century.

really belonged to the fourteenth century, when such devices were not uncommon. Mr. Brock and the Rev. Scott Surtees also took part in the discussion.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., then exhibited a drawing of a Roman building at Rheims, and read the following :—

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED ROMAN BUILDING IN THE PROMENADE  
AT RHEIMS.

BY GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

The few remarks I am at present able to place before our meeting this evening will, I hope, be sufficient to interest my hearers, and perhaps, as I would further hope, “whet their appetites” for more, when I am in the receipt of a fuller and longer report from the French architect, to whose efforts we as archæologists are already deeply indebted for the preservation of some important and interesting Roman remains, only brought to light a few weeks ago, at the ancient City of Rheims, whilst digging in the well-known “Promenade” of that famous town, built on the site of “Durocororum Civitas”, mentioned in Cæsar’s *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi, p. 44, as the capital of the Remi, and afterwards called “Civitas Remorum”, and from which people the present name is, doubtless, derived.

Whilst wandering with the Leland Club, in north-eastern France, better known to tourists as the “Champagne District”, we came to the above celebrated city, early in May last; and after our party, under the conduct of our indefatigable director and guide, Mr. John Reynolds, had been introduced to some of the wonders of Rheims, or “Renz”, as the French people call it, although I, as an ardent admirer of the “Jackdaw of Rheims”, written by one of the original members of this Association, the Rev. R. H. Barham, better known throughout the literary world as “Ingoldsby”, am quite content, and always shall be, to pronounce the name as he determined it in his above referred to and justly admired Legend, when he wrote as follows :—

“Never, I ween, was a prouder seen,  
Read of in books, or dreamt of in dreams,  
Than the Cardinal Lord Archbishop of Rheims !”

After we had seen the magnificent Cathedral, the Church of St. Remi, the Archbishop’s Palace, and the Museum, in which is exhibited one of the largest Roman pavements in Europe, I believe, and which was found in Rheims, we were taken to the excavations in the Promenade, through the kindness of Mr. Reynolds’ friend, M. Paul Krug, a well-known archæologist residing in the city, and

where his famous champagne house of business, "Paul Krug and Co.", is situated, to these "diggings", at that time shut out from the public gaze, and to which this short paper is intended to draw your attention.

The whole appearance of the remains as at present developed, indicates to my mind the "vestigia" of an important building, which, if further carefully examined, will, I feel sure, bring to light evidences of larger rooms, and possibly of paved mosaic ones, now buried beneath the mound of earth and *débris* of broken shafts, of tiles and *tesserae*, abundantly strewn all over the place, and the latter one's fingers itched to pick up as "mementoes" of such an interesting "find"; but, like other things in France, it was "*defendu*", and therefore very reluctantly I kept my hands from "picking and stealing", although I feel sure no one would have been a bit the worse off, if I had been able to bring a few specimens away with me to present to you on this occasion.

The row of broken columns, a very faint impression of which my sketch will give the meeting, told forcibly of the history of former times, and gave an evidence to the members of the Leland Club that here were the remains of a once grand and most likely important public building belonging to the ancient days of Roman occupation, and possibly in some connection with the magnificent Porta Martis, or Gate of Mars, now standing, so nobly and proudly, close to the excavations I have been referring to, and the sight of which alone, of all the other grand antiquities of Rheims, repays the visitor to that city, be he archæologist or not. It was built, it is conjectured, in the fourth century, and of the other three city gates, the Porta Cereris, Porta Veneris, and Porta Bacchi, is the sole one remaining, and in its existence has passed indeed a chequered career. Up to 1554 it was used as a city gate; then earthworks were constructed over it, and another gateway used instead; it was again opened up in 1595, and then built up again. In the year 1677 it was once more uncovered, but not effectually cleared and exposed to the light of day as it is now. Soon after 1830 it was carefully restored, and stands out at present a splendid and solitary monument of such early days, and tells silently the tale of what a noble city the ancient Civitas of the Remi must have been.

But it is now time to hurry on and refer once more to the discovery of the remains close by this triumphal Roman arch of three "basis", as the French call them, so well preserved and so richly adorned with carvings and other embellishments in stone, of heads and figures, fruits and emblematical devices.

Our old friend and highest living authority on Roman antiquities, Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., thus writes to me of the subject now before us,

I having called his attention to it, and sent him a sketch of the ruins : “The columns probably show a corridor, or possibly an open room with a corridor. The hypocaust, a large winter tessellated room ; not a bath” (as some have thought in Rheims and elsewhere). “In our climate warmth was wanted, and thus we find baths small, a secondary requisite. The arch at Rheims, with agricultural and mythological subjects, is one of the wonders of Northern Gallia. Upon the cathedral you noted, I hope, the spirits or bodies rising out of Amphoræ at the scene of the Resurrection. Roman Rheims is underground.”

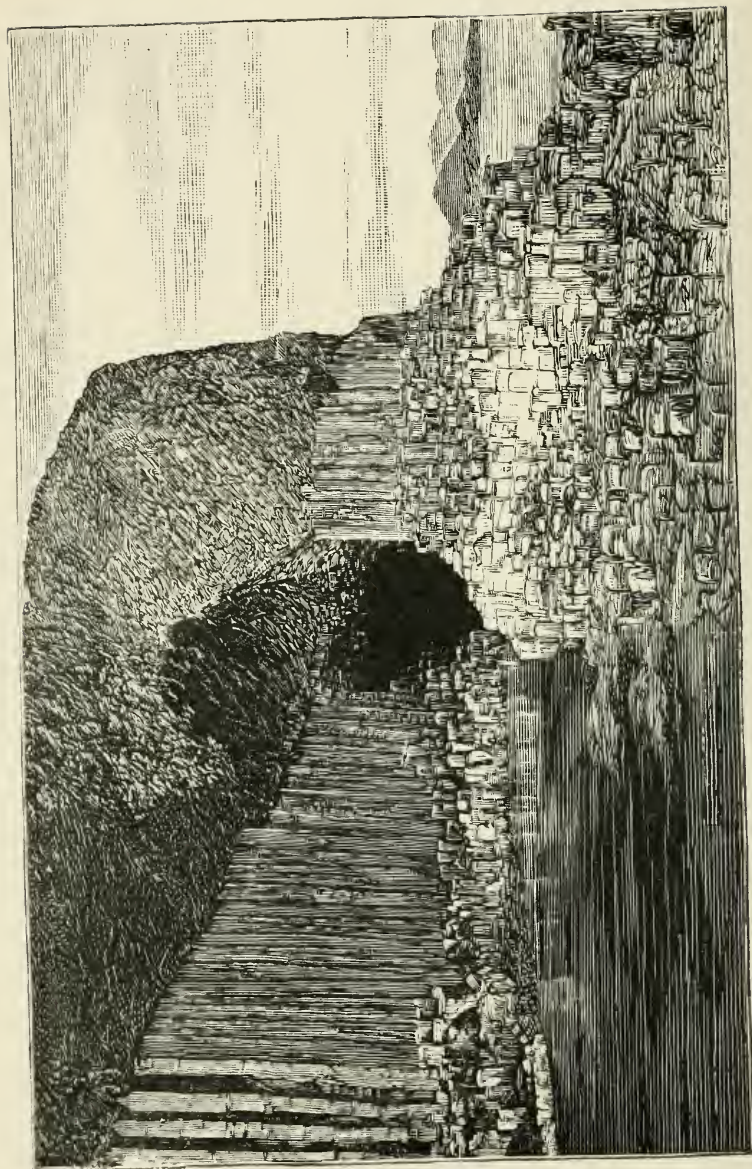
My friend and fellow associate, Mr. John L. Roget, thus writes to me of the Roman discovery at Rheims : “I wish I could help you about the Roman remains, and am ashamed at my poor recollection of their details. My visual impression is merely of a pit, not very deep, exposing the bases of a row of columns along the site of an unexplored apartment or court (an *atrium*, perhaps). Parallel to these, a broken wall, that of the supposed court, extending across the length of the pit. Then beyond, a confused mass of little walls enclosing little spaces, and looking like what I saw in a villa dug into some years ago at Wingham in Kent, where they were called a hypocaust ; there is a very good representation of it in the fifteenth volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*, p. 352.” Here followed a slight sketch, which I am glad to say completely agrees with mine, and so I hope you will consider, roughly made as my sketch is, it does fairly well represent the features of these Roman excavations at Rheims. In concluding, I will again venture to say, that if, when I get further promised details of what has been found since our visit to the buried building in Rheims, and exact measurements of what already has been found, you will like to hear anything more of this interesting discovery, and not think I shall bore you too much over a Continental Roman “find”,—hardly, certainly, to be considered British Archæology,—I shall be very happy to furnish you with a continuation of these Notes, which I can but regret are so feebly rendered, but which I hope may have at the same time afforded you a little interest, and a peep, as it were, into the past, and the wondrous works of those great people, the ancient Romans, from whom it is the boast of many Englishmen to be derived ; and certainly to feel they have greatly benefited by the nearly four hundred years they were in our country, in our manners and our laws, our customs and our monuments. In fact, I have ever felt myself “more a Roman than an antique Dane.”

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Mr. Mould, Mr. Brock, Dr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A., LL.D., the Rev. Scott Surtees, and Mr. Ellis of Huddersfield, took part in the discussion ; and







UAIMH-BINN OR FINGAL'S CAVE.

it was hoped that further details would be obtained respecting this discovery, and laid before the Society on a future occasion.

Mr. Brock then read a paper, in the unavoidable absence of the author, on "Bishop Butler's Painted Glass at Vane House, Hampstead, and at Oriel College, Oxford", by E. Walford, Esq., M.A.

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse made the following communication in regard to Fingal's Cave and the other caves of Staffa:—

#### FINGAL'S CAVE.

BY F. COPE WHITEHOUSE, ESQ., M.A.

At the Meeting of the British Archæological Association at Malvern, in 1881, I consulted privately some of the members in regard to the celebrated Cave in Staffa, and a paper which I proposed to read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science at its forthcoming Meeting at York.

It is impossible to imagine a greater amount of error on any subject than obtained at that time in regard to Staffa. The name, "Cave of Fingal", was a blunder of Sir J. Banks (1772). The Cave of "Vin" is the Cave of "Noise". The French insist (Larousse, *s. v.* "Staffa") that its length is 149 feet (45.47 *m.*) instead of 249, because Faujas St. Fond made a wrong entry in his note-book in 1779.

There are four pictures in geological works written by distinguished authors, and published by leading houses, which do not bear the slightest resemblance to each other or the object.

Bad as an illustration, it is worse as a physical impossibility; yet this columnar hall (fig. 1.) has been a favourite misrepresentation for over half a century, and is used to this day by the Germans.

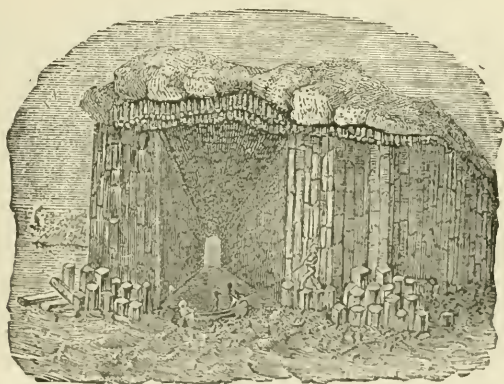


Fig. 1.

Still more grotesque is the cut (fig. 2) which appeared in twenty-five editions of one of the most popular text-books of geology ever

published, "revised, enlarged, and adapted to the present advanced state of the science, with an introductory notice by John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S. and F.G.S." The pipes in the foreground are sufficiently

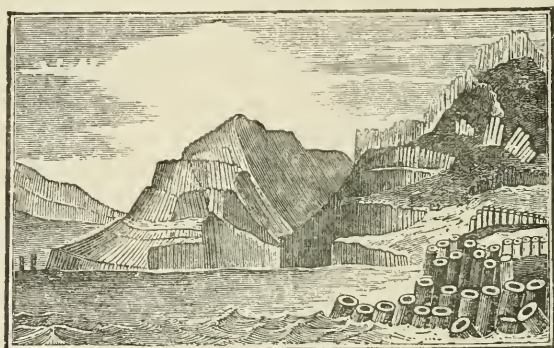


Fig. 2.

ridiculous; but how could any intelligent person write, "this sketch will convey an idea of the situation of the Cave", when there is no cave? The picture, so far as it represents anything, shows Herdsman's Island and the wrong side of Staffa. With a slight variation, it appears in an excellent text-book published in London in 1884.

In 1881 the present Director General of the Geological Survey published one of the science-primers, edited by Professors Huxley, Roscoe, and Balfour Stewart. One half of the island, on the right (fig. 3) is

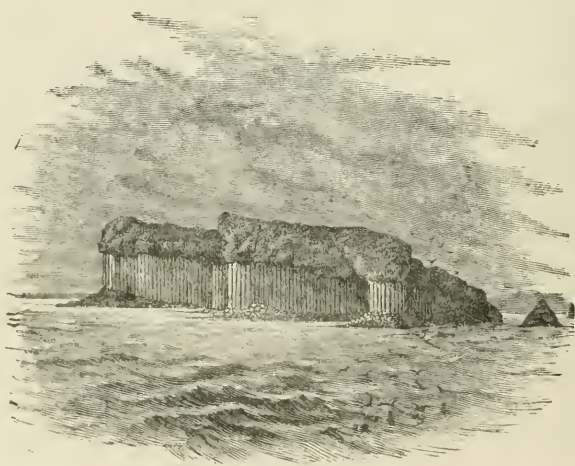


Fig. 3.

reduced to three insignificant lines at the water's edge, while the great sweep of the Mull Cliffs, with the broken rampart of islands, about five



miles away, all round the rest of the horizon, is scarcely distinguishable from a heavy cloud.

In 1882 the same author sanctioned another picture (fig. 4), in which the isometric system of the Chinese is united with the perspective of the Western world. Certainly no child of ten would make so bad a copy, or nursery governess permit it. It is a proof, if any were needed, that no scientific education is complete without training the eye so that it will instantly reject the non-natural.

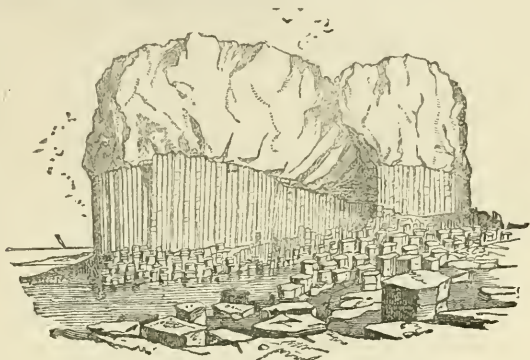


Fig. 4

When a proper picture of Staffa (fig. 5) is attentively considered, a doubt immediately arises whether the seven holes on all sides of this land-locked island can have been made by the sea. The objections are stated at length in *The Science-Myth of Fingal's Cave*. The answer of a large number of scientific bodies has been in the negative. Dr. A. Geikie has cancelled the illustration in his *Text-Book of Geology*.

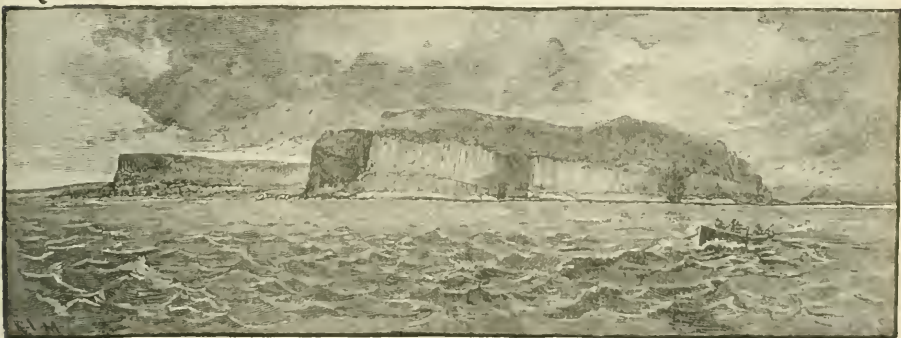
Mull

Cormorant's Cave

Boat-Cave

Fingal's Cave

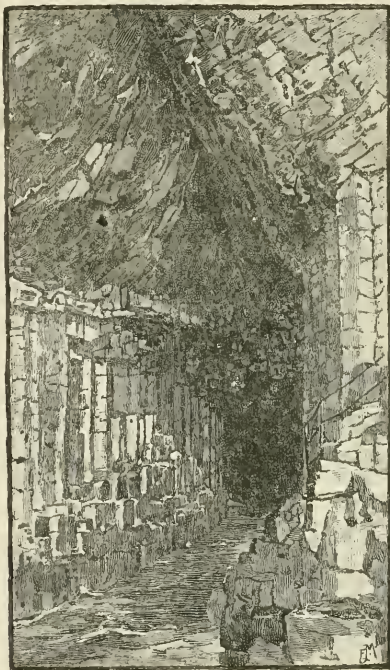
Mull



Staffa. (Fig. 5.)

If not sea-caves, are they artificial? And if made by man, by what race? It is peculiarly the province of this Society to discuss and

decide such a question; and it is in hopes of eliciting a paper from some one of its members at the approaching Congress that these remarks and the accompanying Plate have been offered.



Interior View of the Cave.

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## Obituary.

### MR. LLEWELLYN JEWITT.

ARCHÆOLOGY has lost one of its most devoted workers in the person of Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., who died, *The Times* says, at his residence at Duffield, Derbyshire. The deceased gentleman, who was in his seventieth year, was the youngest son of the late Mr. Arthur Jewitt, a topographical writer of some note at the beginning of the century; and he was born at Kimberworth, near Rotherham, Yorkshire. At an early age he settled in London, and was employed in illustrating many of the leading works of the day. He was also a large contributor, both by pen and pencil, to *The Illustrated London News* during its early years, and published a *Handbook of British Coins*, which has since passed through several editions. Later on, after a



few years' residence in the neighbourhood of Oxford, he had for a short time the superintendence of the illustrations of *Punch*. He was subsequently appointed Chief Librarian of the Plymouth Public Library, and soon identified himself with the various literary and scientific institutions of the west of England. In 1853 Mr. Jewitt resigned the Librarianship, removed to Derby, and started *The Derby Telegraph*, which he conducted till 1868, when it passed out of his hands. In 1860 he projected *The Reliquary*, a quarterly archæological journal and review, which he successfully carried on until his death. Among other works which he published were, *The Ballads and Songs of Derbyshire*, *Grave-Mounds*, and *Half-Hours among some English Antiquities*. Mr. Jewitt's labours in the field of archæology are well known; and in his special study, that of pottery, his researches were of a most extensive character. This is evidenced by his connection with the Association, which has frequently received valuable aid from his co-operation with its scope and object.

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Worlebury, an Ancient Stronghold, in the County of Somerset.* By C. W. DYMOND and the Rev. H. G. TOMKINS. Printed for the Author. 1886. 4to. With Plans and Drawings.—A very perfect and elaborate account of this very interesting fortress has just made its appearance; and we are glad to find that after a series of years, and much careful examination of the remains, a work has been produced worthy of the subject.

The Camp and its surroundings were visited by the Association on the occasion of their meeting at Bristol, and an account of it, together with a plan, will be found in the thirty-first volume of the *Journal*, p. 266.

The work which has just appeared gives revised plans and drawings, and the result of the careful examination which the remains have undergone, extending over a considerable period of time; in fact, no pains have been spared in collecting together whatever knowledge could be gleaned, and light be thrown upon its history and occupation. By the increase of building in the flourishing and favourite watering-place of Weston-super-Mare, many encroachments have been made upon the surroundings of the Camp, which overlooks the town, and some curious features have been obliterated, while the area has, unhappily, been planted in recent times. It is important, therefore, that the exact features of one of our ancient British strongholds should have been preserved, and its remains, we trust, rescued from further

injury, and a fitting memorial of its extent handed down to future generations.

The lovers of our national historical remains will thank the authors of this volume for the good services they have rendered; for their work may serve as a model for preserving the details of many other earthworks still existing in this island, the features of which run daily risk of mutilation, if not of entire destruction. The volume may be hailed as an indication of the increasing value put upon ancient historical remains, and a pledge of future care in their preservation.

The first notices of the remains on Worlebury will be found in Collinson's *History of Somerset*, vol. i, p. xii, and vol. iii, p. 610 (1791). These have been followed by a succession of others up to the present date, all of which are recorded in the present work. Amongst the most curious and interesting details of the volume now issued are the careful investigation of the rough masonry and structure of the walls, of which drawings and sections are given; and the contents of the *pit-dwellings*, as well as the crania discovered in them. From all of which remains correct inferences may now be drawn; but the writers have been more intent upon carefully recording what has been found, than by theorising or attempting to define the habits, manners, and condition of the aboriginal occupants.

The volume may be recommended not only for its accuracy of description, and the careful execution of its plans and drawings, but as a noble effort to preserve, and to encourage the preservation of, that which constitutes so great a charm in the investigation of the history of our own country.

H. M. S.

*Romano British Mosaic Pavements.* By T. MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A. (Messrs. Whiting and Co. 1886.)—Mr. Morgan has done good service to the cause of British archæology by the labour which he has indefatigably bestowed upon this work. Interesting as the study of the art of Roman mosaic pavements has ever been, and the more so since Lysons and Buckman (to mention two well known names out of many) first treated of the subject, it is curious that no one has hitherto essayed to give in one volume a comprehensive notice of the principal pavements extant in, or imported from richer sites into, England. This has been left to Mr. Morgan to accomplish, and his work will not fail to interest and satisfy the scholar and antiquary.

The book partakes of more than one character. It is not only a record of discovery and a classified list of places which have revealed these art-treasures to the spade and the plough, as at Bignor, Morton, Woodchester, and Horkestow, but from the introduction of essays on the mythology, the *cultus*, the numismatic evidence, and the comparative criticism which is afforded by the matchless specimens from Car-

thage and Halicarnassus, stored away carefully in what ignorant persons are pleased to call the underground vaults of the British Museum, and all possessing aspects which bear on the proper appreciation of mosaic art-pictures in tessellated stonework, there is little left to be desired by the reader.

When we consider the value of these remains as prototypes and forerunners of much of the mediæval art cultivated in England, and as important links in the history of the development of civilisation, we cannot but grieve to think how supine are those authorities who fail to recognise in these relics priceless objects which should be rescued for ever from the perilous chances which are inherent to all kinds of private ownership. The same Vandal spirit which at one time dug holes in a celebrated pavement because its situation in a churchyard interfered with the recurrent vicissitudes of parochial interments, may at another time induce the freeholder of another pavement to plough up the tessellated pictures which delighted the Roman occupants, and enthralled the natives of this island. A third owner may build farmsheds over the Roman villa on his farm, and stable his cattle on sites hallowed to the Muses, where an emperor dined or bathed. But while we schedule ancient camps, rough-hewn monoliths, and stone circles (unwrought and inartistic as they are), no systematic provision has as yet been devised for safeguarding the charming mosaics of Roman time, which are tenfold more important both for art and history. If Mr. Morgan's work results in obtaining for Roman pavements in Britain the protection they richly merit and admittedly require, it will not have been written in vain.

THE second volume of Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Retrospections, Social and Archæological*, is about to be issued. It contains reminiscences of the author's connection with many eminent archæologists, English and Continental; the transactions connected with the sale of his museum; his settlement in Strood; and notes of foreign tours. The volume will be published by Messrs. G. Bell and Sons.

*Monumental Inscriptions in the City of Norwich, copied from the Tombs, Monuments, Gravestones, Brass Plates, and Memorial Windows in the Cathedral, Churches, Churchyards, Places of Worship, and Closed Burial-Grounds.* With Plans indicating Sites of all Memorials, and illustrated with Drawings of Monuments, Coats of Arms, etc. Collated by and under the auspices of the National Society for Preserving the Memorials of the Dead.—The MSS. are carefully compared with the originals. The work will be issued in six or seven Parts, foolscap folio, with an Index for each Part. There will be a General Index of the whole in the last Part. Subscribers for the whole work, 5s. each Part. Those for each parish can be had separately, if a sufficient number be

subscribed for. All available sources will be searched, and references given to inscriptions no longer to be found. The publication by the Society will, as far as possible, consist of an exact copy of the originals. Part I will be issued when four hundred copies are subscribed for. Part I.—The Cathedral and Cloisters, the Bishop's Chapel, and the Grammar School Crypt; the churches and churchyards of SS. Peter at Southgate, Etheldred, Julian, Peter-per-Mountergate, John at Timberhill, and All Saints. The work will be published by the Society, and printed by Messrs. A. H. Goose and Co., Rampant Horse Street, Norwich.

*Of the Buildings of Justinian by Procopius, c. A.D. 560.* Translated for 'the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society by AUBREY STEWART, M.A., and Annotated by Col. SIR C. W. WILSON, R.E., K.C.M.G., and Prof. HAYTER LEWIS. (London: 1 Adam Street, Adelphi.)—The works of Procopius, both historical and architectural, have always been held in very high esteem, not only because they cover a remote period which needs all the illustration which can be obtained from genuine sources for its reconstruction, but because their general and technical accuracy is undoubted.

The present form of translation, with notes by the translator, and further notes (chiefly archæological) by our Associate, Prof. H. Lewis, to which are added Col. Sir C. Wilson's notes (chiefly topographical), leaves nothing to be desired; while the plates and illustrations, which show the extant remains of Justinian's work, further add to the usefulness of the translation. In the investigation of the antiquities of Palestine, we are told, his name, as associated with them, comes forward as often as that of Constantine or Herod. From Bethlehem to Damascus, from the coast to far beyond Jordan, there are few places of note in which some record of his works are not left: The Church of the Holy Virgin on Mount Sinai, the great Basilica at Bethlehem, the church on the summit of Mount Gerizim, and other architectural remains, testify to the handiwork of Justinian; and the first and greatest example of Byzantine work, the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, may be pointed to as the typical result of his characteristic style.

The work before us is carefully written, and the plates and plans deserve thorough study by every architect who wishes to examine the early condition of church buildings in the East: hitherto a difficult pursuit, but now rendered more accessible, and certainly more attractive, by the united labours of those who have contributed towards the production of a handbook which not only cannot fail to satisfy the critical demands of the professional architect, but will be found to possess a fascination even for the most unlearned in the matters of which it treats.







THE PHOTOTYPE OF 303, STRAND, LONDON.

# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

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SEPTEMBER 1886.

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### THE ANCIENT SCULPTURES

IN THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE

### CHOIR OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read 19th May 1886.)

AMONG the large number of antiquities and relics of ancient English art which were brought before the notice of those who attended the recent Congress of the British Archæological Association at Brighton, the two ancient subjects sculptured on stone, in *alto relievo*, which are let into the outer wall of the south aisle of the choir in Chichester Cathedral, yield to none in importance and interest. They have an historical reputation as well as an artistic value; and I shall endeavour, in the course of the present paper, to point out a few of the most obvious aspects of their archæology.

The Rev. Prebendary Stephens, in his *Memorials of the South Saxon See and Cathedral Church of Chichester*, 1876, p. 31, gives two photographs of these sculptures, very much reduced, which I here exhibit; but his account of them is trivial and meagre. He says, speaking of the primæval see at *Selsey*: "The present village is two miles distant from what was the old parish church, and the nave of it was, therefore, taken down a few years ago and rebuilt in the village, stone for stone, with a new chancel. The old forsaken chancel, however, is still used for burials and baptisms, and the extremely far older

font may fairly be coeval with the removal of the see to Chichester, and therefore may have probably stood in the ancient cathedral of Selsey. Relics, treasures, and works of art were no doubt for the most part removed to Chichester when the bishop's throne was transplanted there. Among those we may perhaps venture to include *the quaint, rude, yet forcible pieces of sculpture*, representing the raising of Lazarus, of which an illustration is subjoined. They were discovered in 1829,<sup>1</sup> behind the stalls of the choir in the present cathedral. Not improbably they had been concealed there to escape the soldiers of Waller, who, during the siege of Chichester in 1643, made havoc of the cathedral monuments with their pikes and pole-axes."

This is all that Stephens states, and, insufficient as it is, it appears to have directed all subsequent ideas as to the origin of the sculptures under notice. Stephens's illustration shows the present condition of the work. I am told that the authorities of the South Kensington Museum have placed plaster casts from these sculptures near the entrance to the art galleries, but I am not aware that they have in any other way attracted the notice of writers and students of ancient fine arts.

1.—The first *tableau* only has a cresting of carved foliage, arranged in semicircular cusps of an early twelfth century style. The moulding or carved plinth running round the base of the font in St. Nicholas' Church, in the scene which illustrates the "Baptism of our Lord" by St. John the Baptist, has much detail in common with this cresting on the sculptured stone; and I am inclined to attribute them both to the middle, or at best the early part of the twelfth century. The Ven. Archdn. Hannah, in his paper on this font, printed in our *March Journal* for this year, thinks that this font "cannot be far removed from the date of the Conquest"; but I fear he has slightly exceeded the furthest limit which I would venture to assign to it.<sup>2</sup> English sculpture at the time of the Conquest was for all intents and purposes Saxon, and Saxon

<sup>1</sup> The guide-book of 1848 suggested that the sculptures came from Selsey; and, indeed, the suggestion was current before that time, even from the discovery in 1829.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. R. Allen speaks of these panels as of "perhaps Saxon date",



feeling remained dominant for years afterwards, both in sculpture and drawing. Architectural constructions and details were the first to succumb to the Norman influences, and sculpture followed (no doubt) not long afterwards. But there is not the least Saxon feeling in the font. However, to return, after this parenthesis, I will proceed with the description of the first picture. On the left is a castellated structure, with round-headed arch or portal, on engaged shafts with foliated capitals; the valve-doors are thrown wide open, and show ornamental metal hinges. The first storey of this castle-like edifice is enriched with an arcade of round-headed arches; over this, an overhanging storey with battlemented masonry, topped with three conical towers striated to represent thatch or shingle, and finished with an ample knob. This peculiar style of finishing off the conical roofs of turrets with a knob is frequently seen on seals of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, as, for example, those of Canterbury Cathedral, engraved in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i, Pl. i; Battle Abbey (Dugdale, vol. iii, Pl. xviii); Leeds Priory, Kent; Chertsey Abbey, Surrey; Burton-upon-Trent (Dugdale, vol. iii, Pl. xvii); St. Nicholas, Exeter, late eleventh century (Dugdale, vol. iii, Pl. xix); and others well known to students of seals. It may be noticed also in the building behind the Virgin, on the painted wall of the crypt at Canterbury, which is twelfth century. Martha and Mary are at the gate, one standing, the other kneeling, with hands clasped and uplifted in supplication. Their sleeves and the flowing skirts of their dresses are not far removed from the Saxon style of vestments. We may compare the dress of St. Pega in the twelfth century Guthlac Roll in the British Museum (Rot. Harl., Y 6), where she is about to enter into a boat.

The figure of our Lord, a man of colossal proportions, occupies the centre of the subject, with cruciformed nimbus, long hair, and curled beard, book in the left hand, and a flowing robe, reaching to the feet. The right hand

in his recent paper on Norman sculptures, read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, p. 421. I am aware also that many other antiquaries would rather place these specimens at Chichester in the eleventh than the twelfth century; but the details of the dress do not correspond with that epoch, if the art is English.

is wanting, but I have no doubt that the right hand of the Lord's figure on the second picture belongs to this one, and I have so placed it in the suggested arrangement which I now exhibit. The position of this hand in the second picture is out of symmetry with the attitude of the body. Behind the Lord are four disciples, in two tiers of two each, standing on the peculiar hillocky or hummocky ground, which is so characteristic of eleventh and twelfth century art. They form a balance to the two women on the left. These figures have the nimbus plain; the head of one is wanting, but the heads of the other three clearly indicate the excellent skill of the artist in rendering the various emotions of astonishment and grief. The hair is treated differently in every instance. Similar varieties of representing hair are shown on the fresco in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, already alluded to. From the depressed cavities of the eyes it has been suggested (I believe) that the eyes themselves were formed of glass or precious stones introduced into the sockets; but there is only slight evidence of this in one of the eyes, where some metal or rust of metal has been traced by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, the architect to the Cathedral. The treatment of the eyes by ancient sculptors has never been satisfactorily explained, and I am not a sculptor that I should essay to explain it. We see in the rudest sculptures; as, for example, in the Easter Island idols, under the portico of the British Museum, in the first statues of Greece, in the busts of the Roman period, and in mediæval and modern sculptors' work,—that while for all other parts of the body *concurvity* is rendered by *concavity*, and *convexity* by *convexity*, yet the markedly *convex eye* is reproduced by a *concave* depression. Why this is so I am unable to say; perhaps some one may offer an elucidation hereafter.

This panel, just as the other, is not now composed of a single slab of stone; whether it was so originally I do not know; but on looking at the photographs it is clear that it consists of six horizontal courses. The first runs along the arcade over the doorway, under the Lord's neck, and through the nimbus of the two lower disciples. The second can be seen running through the book held by our Saviour; the third, across the shoulder



of the standing woman ; the fourth, along the arm of the kneeling woman ; the fifth line, at the end of the carved moulding of the right-hand column of the doorway. We may compare the way in which the round-headed arches of the external arcading on the north wall of the chancel of the Saxon chapel at Bradford-on-Avon have been carved on rectangular slabs of stone, regardless of the position of the joints.

It is to this peculiar formation of the panel that the mistakes which I am about to point out in the present arrangement is, no doubt, in a great measure due.

Besides these six horizontal courses of ashlar work (if the term may be appropriately attributed to this system of building up a composite slab, which was afterwards covered with its intended relief by the sculptor), there are numerous vertical joints and fragmentary cracks which show themselves. Some of these have been badly put together, either at the time of the discovery behind the stalls of the choir in 1829, as related by Mr. Stephens in the preceding extract, or at a more remote period. There is no record, as far as I know, of the state—whether broken up or united—of these relics at the date mentioned, nor of the condition of the back at the time when they were let into the wall which they now adorn. I venture to suggest that the drapery of the left arm of the standing figure of the apostle on the left side of the second slab, belongs to the right arm of our Lord in this first panel, and the hand of blessing, with first two fingers extended, the last two closed, which stands now in the second slab, is perhaps the right hand of our Lord in the first slab. The drapery of our Lord and the apostles composing the two lowest courses in the first subject is wrongly united, and in some cases the original stone has been pared down by the mason who put up the sculptures in their present state, and made up deficiencies with cement. The folds and plaits do not altogether coincide, and the advanced foot of our Lord, with the curled-up kind of ground below it, seems to belong more appropriately to the other or left leg in the second panel. If these pieces could be taken out by an experienced mason, and the cement or mortar which has been used in bedding them into the wall, carefully removed, no doubt the original

lines of fracture would be revealed, and the disjointed pieces reinstated into their pristine and proper places, to the evident and manifest amelioration of these relics. A plate-glass front ought to be placed before this and the second subject to protect them from dust, weather, and dirty fingers.

11.—The second sculpture is of the same dimensions, and from the hand of the same artist, as the first. It also exhibits equally clearly the six horizontal courses of stone work. The first joint runs along the neck of the Lord; the second, through the lower part of the book which he holds; the third, where the cut break in the dress of the Lord is seen; the fourth, just below the uppermost hands of the two gravediggers; the last, where the break in the dresses, on the right hand side, is seen. This represents "The Raising of Lazarus", and when complete, and correctly put together, it becomes perfectly intelligible. It may be compared with pictures of the same subject which occur, for example, in the British Museum MSS.; Egerton, 1139, folio 4b, a fine picture of the twelfth century; Harley, 1810, f. 61, ditto; Add. MS. 17,738, f. 4, a fine picture, date A.D. 1170; Arundel, 157, f. 7b (Psalter), thirteenth century. No doubt other MSS. in Oxford and Cambridge, and such works as treat of early Christian art, would furnish other examples, if they were required, to show that we have here a purely conventional picture in stone relief, designed after a manner perfectly intelligible to the eyes of those who looked at it when it was newly sculptured, and requiring no strained or mystical explanation with which some have sought to invest it.<sup>1</sup>

It has, indeed, been sadly disfigured by the misplacement of most of the pieces of the four lower courses, which has resulted in joining the head and upper trunk of Lazarus to the left arm and hand of a disciple; and by way of balance, I suppose, the lower part of the bandage-wrapped, mummy-like body of Lazarus has been surmounted with the head and neck of one of the three assistants who are helping to extricate him from the tomb. This incongruous medley has not been easily car-

<sup>1</sup> The raising of Lazarus, sculptured on the Norman font at Lenton, co. Notts., is treated in a different way. See Mr. Allen's paper, pp. 393, 420.

ried out, and the result is that two Lazaruses are made, and there are a hand and arm without visible junction to any other limb. Besides this, the confusion made with the dresses of all the figures is very considerable. I am told that some mystical explanation has been suggested; that the two pseudo Lazaruses are,—(1), the rising Lazarus, half way out of the grave; (2), the unwrapped Lazarus, naked to the waist, raising his arms in grateful adoration of his Redeemer, representing a second stage in the action, and upheld by a hand and arm which have been added with no other motive than to signify the wonder-working might of the Saviour, and to give, one would think, a too practical turn to the beautiful verse, “Underneath are the everlasting arms”.<sup>1</sup> This would be the literal and practical representation of a metaphor, worthy of the unsentimental artist who drew the pictures of the well-known Utrecht Psalter. We know, of course, how often the Virgin bearing the Child in her arms is depicted in the same picture with the adult Christ; and it appeared no more incongruous to do this in the sixteenth than in the tenth century. But that is a peculiar case, and the Child had become, even at a far earlier date than the tenth century, an almost inseparable ideographic emblem of the Virgin. For example, in the *Winchester Book of Prayers*, a MS. of the early part of the eleventh century (formerly belonging to the Abbot of Newminster, or Hyde, Winchester), now in the British Museum, among the Cottonian MSS., Titus D. xxvii, f. 75, the Trinity is represented by the two Persons seated, and the Virgin Mary holding the Infant in her arms, and the Dove or Spirit on her. Below are other details not necessary for description here.

If, however, the pieces are re-arranged in the order in which I show them on the accompanying Plate (having cut up an excellent photograph for the purpose), the two Lazaruses rightly become one again, and the disconnected hand and arm reunite with the head and body of the attendant to which they belong. The drapery of the skirts is here, as it was in the former slab, unsatisfactorily joined together, of the Lord especially; but it would require the removal of the cement and mortar which have

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxiii, 27.

been filled into the grooves, in a vain attempt to hide the want of continuity in the folds and lines, before the whole puzzle can be solved.

There can be no doubt that if the parts which are manifestly wrong in position were taken out, the whole could be re-arranged without difficulty, and the Dean and Chapter of Chichester would have the very great satisfaction of removing the mistake which has existed under their charge for so many years; and they would also experience an equally great satisfaction at the appreciation of their proceedings by every one who cares to compare the present with the suggested arrangement of the sculptures. Beautiful to the archæologist as these *alti-relievi* are even now, in their disconnected and, in so far, sadly marred condition, they would unfailingly become tenfold more beautiful and important in their new arrangement; and the dignitaries of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, who, I believe, are not unaware of the present misleading condition of these ancient sculptures, would not only rejoice in having a blemish removed, but in possessing two stone panels sculptured by English hands, with elaborate representations of Christian antiquities, such as may be sought for in vain in any other ecclesiastical edifice in England.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALLEGED  
EXTENSIVE LOSS OF HISTORICAL MSS.  
AFTER THE  
DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

BY R. HOWLETT, ESQ.

(*Read May 19th, 1886.*)

I AM desirous of bringing before the Association the results of some researches into materials with which my friend Mr. Cecil Brent has from time to time provided me. It was at our meeting of the 6th of April 1881 that Mr. Brent amazed us by exhibiting about sixty ancient playing-cards, one of them actually bearing the date 1558. These, as we shall all remember, he had had the good fortune to detect in the covers of an old book; one which had lurked for many years on his shelves, and had pretended all the while to be of no value whatever. This discovery has caused him to continue investigations of this kind, and he has by careful work developed many curious fragments of ancient MSS., English and foreign, dating from the ninth or tenth centuries down to the seventeenth. These he has kindly put into my hands from time to time to investigate, and I now bring a few of them to the notice of the present meeting. Let me say at once that neither Mr. Brent nor I see any such intrinsic value in the majority of these scraps as would justify me in troubling the Society about them; but when they are regarded as a body, there are some points which give them a real importance.

Perhaps I shall be borne with while I endeavour to draw from these fragments a correction, or at least a modification, of ideas current among historical students on one interesting point, the question whether or not the loss of historical MSS. has been overrated.

Bishop Bale disseminated the story that after the dissolution of the monasteries valuable MSS. were sent abroad literally by the ship-load, and were used by book-binders; while others were, here in England, cut into



strips for tailors' measures, and otherwise destroyed. Speaking of the monasteries, Bale says, in his Declaration upon Leland's journal, "A number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those library books some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the book-binders; not in small number, but at times whole ships full." Historical scholars have complained plentifully about the losses supposed to have been thus sustained, and have spoken of this matter in extravagant terms, as though the injury done to later ages was second only to the loss accruing through the burning of the Alexandrian Library. Thomas Fuller, for example, in his famous Church History, says in his quaint way, "And more particularly the history of former times then and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day, and without hope of a perfect cure must go a cripple to the grave."

Now when I see a definite statement made by Bishop Bale, I must confess that I hold my judgment in suspense, and proceed at once to ascertain whether it is a mistake, or an exaggeration, or even a wilful misstatement. It frequently turns out to be one of these three. Sometimes, if it is at all a complex matter, it combines all these pleasant faults. I think I shall be able to show that the particular statement which concerns us here is a well developed exaggeration.

Now let us look into the facts, and see if we can trace what our losses have really been, and then let us see whether the scraps now before us will not help very curiously in the investigation. There are five different ways of testing this matter. The first is by seeing what ancient chroniclers tell us as to histories existing in their days. For instance, we learn from several sources that in 1293 King Edward I directed a search to be made in all the best chronicles then extant, in order to find passages supporting his claim to be suzerain of Scotland. We know the names<sup>1</sup> of the authors whose chronicles were searched

<sup>1</sup> See Tindal's *Rapin*, vol. i, p. 369; Marianus Scotus (meaning, no doubt, Florence of Worcester), Roger Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon,

on this occasion, and we have excellent copies of their works at the present day. Not one is missing, and we may therefore feel fairly sure that no historical work of the first rank has been lost, though Edward may, of course, have set aside those that did not favour his cause. About the same time, Thomas Wykes of Oseney mentions the names of a few great historical writers whose works he had consulted, and we have at the present day copies of every author he quotes. This does not look as if the loss had been so very great.

But let us take a *second* point. We know that the monastic chroniclers copied very freely from one another; but still, when we come to analyse such compilations as the chronicles of Matthew of Westminster, John Brompton, and Henry Knighton, we can almost always find out from whom they took their materials, and say this passage came from William of Malmesbury, that from Henry of Huntingdon, and so on, almost throughout the work. Surely we could not do this if we had lost very many treatises.

I am anxious, however, not to seem to be going too far in my assertions. Histories certainly have been lost; some are irrecoverably gone. I may be pardoned, perhaps, for instancing those cases which have come under my own notice. We have lost the account of the captivity of Richard Cœur de Lion which Anselm, his chaplain, wrote after his release; but I find that we have extracts from the book in the pages of Hoveden, Newburgh, Wendover, and Ralph of Coggeshall. Again, the last named author, the Abbot of Coggeshall, also copied, as I find, from some chronicle now lost; and the annalist of Stanley Abbey has drawn information from the same lost book. Lastly, the MS. of the *Gesta Stephani* has been lost within the last two hundred years; but the loss took place, not in England, but in France, and fortunately after Duchesne had printed the work.

A *third* method of measuring our loss is this. If we take all the existing MSS. of an author, and collate them carefully, the various readings and blunders of the scribes will enable us to group and to classify them, and put

R. de Diceto, W. of Malmesbury, *The Chron. of St. Alban's* (? Matthew Paris).

them into a sort of genealogical tree. We can thus tell, with some approach to certainty, what links in the genealogy are missing; that is, what MSS. of our author have been lost. I will apply this method to two cases which I have selected simply because they are better known to me than any other instances. One is a case in which the MSS. are principally English; another, in which they are principally French; so let us, as well as seeing the extent of damage, see also whether the loss was greater in England or in France.

For the English one I will adduce William of Newburgh. There were certainly at one time eleven MSS. of his history in existence. Two only of these are lost. For the French or rather Norman author I will take Robertus de Monte. Twenty-eight copies of his work can be traced. Seven of these are lost. Thus, out of the two cases I quote, we find that the blame of losing MSS. is heavily on the side of France,—a country where there was no sudden dissolution of monasteries. But, after all, to lose seven copies out of twenty-eight is surprisingly little when we consider that on the average each of these copies has had to stand the wear and tear, and the chances and changes of six hundred years.

A *fourth* class of sources from which we may get information is the ancient catalogues of monastic libraries, many of which still exist, and such books as John Leland's. I will again select a case which has come specially under my own notice, and mention the list of books belonging to Rievaulx Abbey. This was printed by Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*. The historical treatises in this Abbey, the leading house of the Cistercian order in England, are not many in number; but still we have MSS. of all of these now existing, and I have myself had the privilege of collating one of the actual volumes referred to in the catalogue. I might go on to instance the catalogues of the Abbey of Bec Herluin, printed by the Abbé Migne and others; but it is not my object to write an exhaustive treatise, but to present a rough sketch of my subject.

A *fifth* point which should be mentioned is this. If we turn to Sir Thomas Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials for the History of England*, we shall find notices of many little

known authors who are said to have written chronicles now lost; for instance, Walter of St. Alban's wrote a chronicle of English affairs, and John of Tilbury a history of the English people. These are not known to be in existence. At the same time, however, we see a list of dozens of chronicles without the authors' names. The fact is, no doubt, that these chronicles, like specimens in a disorderly museum, have lost their tickets; and so we have lists of names detached from chronicles, and lists of chronicles detached from the authors' names, for the monks were often singularly careless about mentioning who had written the works they transcribed. If we could only ticket these specimens aright, our list of missing histories would be very greatly diminished.

Now, taken separately, there is a weakness about each of these five lines of argument; but when we take them together they become very strong indeed. Let us clinch them by the facts now before us; let us see how curiously Mr. Brent's investigations throw a side-light on this subject.

Most, if not all, of these scraps now before us came from the covers of foreign books. That is a point to which I ask special attention. They did not come from English books, and the parchment scraps were used for the binding. Here, then, we have before our very eyes clear evidences of the destruction which has overtaken dozens upon dozens of ancient MSS. Here we have a sample of what happened when shiploads of MSS. were taken, as Bale says, to the bookbinders abroad. No doubt we have some of the contents of those ships actually here on the table, though most of the pieces before us are the work of foreign scribes. And what do we see? Just this; that there is not a single scrap which contains a word of historical information, and that there is not a morsel from any classical author. Surely if MSS. of these two important classes had been packed off wholesale to the Continent, we should have found some little piece of one of them lurking amongst this large collection of fragments; but it is not so. It is quite clear, too, that Bale's bookbinders abroad used more foreign MSS. than English ones; for the majority of these specimens are, as I have said, the work of foreign scribes.



Some historical MSS., no doubt, have been found, and will be found, elsewhere; indeed, I know of one instance myself, and the experience of the MSS. Department of the British Museum would probably furnish many more; but there are none *here*, and the collection before us is certainly not a small one. There is abundance of absurd mediæval philosophy, both English and foreign; there are bits of many theological treatises; and there are leaves of many liturgical books which, perhaps, contained some valuable jottings on the margins, and certainly contained many charming works of art. But though the artist and the antiquary may suitably regret the loss, the student of history and the classical scholar have, from a purely selfish point of view, little or nothing to bewail.

I believe that the very real losses we have sustained in the way of historical MSS. have been principally due, not to what happened at the Dissolution, but to the carelessness of comparatively recent owners, and to accidental destructions by damp and by fire. One MS., for instance, which I should myself have been glad to see a little while ago, I have reason to believe perished in a gunpowder explosion in one of the towers of St. Mary's Abbey, York. It was a cartulary, a monastic register of deeds of gift, and a MS. of a kind which the owners of property valued highly, and so preserved as far as possible.

Thus, then, I have examined the various means by which we can estimate the loss supposed to have been sustained at the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and I have brought before the meeting specimens from the *débris* of the supposed destruction itself; and if my argument has stood the test, my audience may feel inclined to agree with me in saying that the loss of chronicles has been comparatively small, and has accrued through mere lapse of time, and the accidents to which all books are daily liable, rather than from wholesale destruction at any one time.

I have now finished the argumentative portion of my paper, and I will conclude by calling the attention of the meeting to one of the most interesting of Mr. Brent's discoveries. It consists of a number of cuttings from the



private register of an Italian public notary of the town of Montepuliziano, which I believe is not far from Naples, but I am not sure. The dates are given on many pages; and we thus learn about the marriage settlements and transfers of land which the notary was recording in a province of rural Italy in the year 1345. At this date Dante had only been dead twenty-four years; so that a man old enough to be a busy, well established notary must pretty certainly have heard of him as a living man. At this date Boccaccio was alive, and was destined to describe for us the awful plague which devastated Florence only three years later, that is in 1348.

Only two years after our notary had penned these lines now before us, Cola di Rienzi burst like a meteor upon the astonished tyrants of Rome and Italy; and, in fact, we may say that the writer of these brown leaves was a living witness to the stirring deeds which Bulwer has depicted for us in a book all present must remember. Perhaps our peaceful notary kept himself at a safe distance from the theatre of the more stormy and dramatic events of his time; but the name of Petrarch, who four years previously had received the laurel crown, must have been in the mouths of all his friends, and he and his associates must often have discussed the burning question of the day, the return of the Pope from Avignon. Still Mei, the notary, went on recording how Gianoccio of Montefollonico had appeared before him in the presence of the priest, and in answer to the question required by the law had expressed his willingness to marry Catarina, daughter of Agiluccio of Montepuliziano, and how Catarina had made a similar reply. They seem to have been busy marrying and giving in marriage in that year 1345, for although transfers of property and other prosaic law business appear on these sheets, the weddings gave the notary his principal income.

The book into which Mr. Brent has fastened the bulk of the fragments contains a few ancient deeds which, of course, are not derived from the covers of books, and have nothing to do with our present subject; but among the other pieces I would call special attention to one most venerable fragment, comprising about two hundred lines of the poem by the Christian poet Aurelius

Prudentius, written against Symmachus, who, like Julian the Apostate, advocated the worship of the heathen gods so late in the Christian era as the year 395. The copy now before us was written, I believe, not later than the early part of the ninth century,—a date which takes us back to the days of Charlemagne.

Another interesting fragment, of four leaves, shows us the very earliest form of musical notation ; but this Mr. Brent has previously exhibited to the Association. On another page are what seem to be leaves from the “sales’ book” of a German bookseller in the sixteenth century. We see in it a book by Erasmus and copies of Virgil, Sallust, and Terence, with many of the unfamiliar works of mediæval theologians.

I may now, perhaps, mention two fragments which belong to myself. One is an imperfect copy of a celebrated work of the sixteenth century, bound with, or rather loosely stitched into, a piece of parchment, which proves to be a fourteenth century concordance to the Bible ; not so minute as the celebrated work of Alexander Cruden, but still a serviceable index to texts. These mediæval concordances are, if I mistake not, of very rare occurrence.

The last fragment with which I shall trouble the meeting is of some interest. It comprises about a quarter of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, an eyewitness of the first Crusade ; and these leaves contain the terrible passage in which he describes how the Crusaders were driven to the horrors of actual cannibalism. It is a twelfth century MS., and is valuable even as a fragment, for I believe that there are very few copies of this author in existence. I only know of one in England, the one in the Cambridge University Library. I have, in consequence, had it carefully bound up. This fragment, consisting of twelve leaves, was not recovered, like Mr. Brent’s specimens, from the binding of a book, but was found among the papers of an East Anglian antiquary, and was given to me by a friend who succeeded to his literary possessions. The MS. of which it once formed a part was evidently ruined by the decay of the binding. On close examination one or two amusing points appear. It will be seen that eight or ten different monks lent their hands in the

transcription of these few leaves. One of these seems to have been in the copy-book stage of education, or else (I hope I am wrong in my uncharitable suggestion) the reverend brother had been too liberally treated by the cellarer on that particular day. He begins in a large hand, very much larger than any one else had employed; then he decreases the size a little, then increases it again; at last, after one line in a huge scrawl, he seems to have had a sharp reproof from the head of the *scriptorium*, and to have collected his wits a little, for he writes a few lines more quite respectably, and then stops altogether. Perhaps he was sent to the dormitory to sleep it off, or perhaps to the punishment-cells. At least he concluded; and with his conclusion I will conclude also.

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## DISCOVERY OF THE ATKINS MONUMENTS AT CLAPHAM.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read January 2, 1886.)

It may be of interest to preface this record with a short history and description of the parish churches of Clapham.

The original parish church was dedicated to St. Mary, and occupied the site of the present St. Paul's; which stands on a slight eminence sloping down to the Wandsworth Road, and near the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Station. This church is not mentioned in the *Domesday Survey*, but it is said to have existed in the twelfth century. It consisted of a nave and chancel, and a north and south transept; the former of which was, according to Batten's *Clapham*, occupied by the monuments of the Atkins family. About the year 1715, Mr. Hewer, the friend and clerk of Pepys, and the owner of the Gauden estate and house where Pepys died, added a north aisle with a gallery at the west end of it, carrying it from the north transept to the west end of the nave. Afterwards the parish added a south aisle. A chapel belonging to Walter Frost was built in 1674.

In 1774 an Act of Parliament was passed for building the new church, which is now the parish church of Holy Trinity, on the Common. In pursuance of this Act the old church of St. Mary was taken down, except the north aisle and transept, which were left for the performance of burial-services. A view of this edifice has been found in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of December 1815, Pl. 1, p. 489. Finally, in 1815, the whole of the old building was removed, and a chapel of ease was built, under an Act, on its site by Mr. C. Edmunds, architect, at a cost of £5,000. This is now St. Paul's. It is an uninviting, modern, square brick structure, which repels the visit of the curiosity seeker and antiquary. Ugly as it now is, it has in its recently constructed chancel and transept some redeeming features. The skill of the architect, Mr. Blom-

field, has contrived to throw a certain amount of form into this addition to what was once the most warehouse-like ecclesiastical erection in Surrey.

The success of the work, which has been carried out under the direction of the present incumbent, the Rev. George Forrester, prompts the inquiry, Why could not the same thing be done for the parish church of the Common by the same able hands? There, at least, no burial-ground blocks the way, for that was the chief difficulty at St. Paul's. Nor is there any public footway, guarded with jealous eyes, to be diverted. It is simply a question of subscriptions, and the will to do it. When this new church was erected, ecclesiastical art had reached its lowest depth. I find that the instructions to the architect, Mr. Couse, were for plans and estimates for a "new, strong" church large enough to contain eight hundred people; and with these instructions he certainly has complied. The affectionate regard of Macaulay for the church, on account of "old associations", is noteworthy.

But to return to St. Paul's, from which I am digressing. In preparing for a lecture on "Old Clapham", I found in the descriptions of the old church an account of, amongst others, the very fine marble monuments to Sir Richard Atkins and family, and I was necessarily led to consider what could have become of them. Manning and Bray give, in their *History of Surrey*, vol. iii, pp. 363-7, a description of these monuments, with credit taken for the manner in which they were preserved. Brayley and Britten (*Surrey*) refer to them as having been afterwards destroyed. This must have been taken for granted, from the clue to their place of stowage having been lost. I found, however, that there was a tradition amongst some of the old inhabitants that they were stowed away in a vault somewhere on the north side; which must, I concluded, be near the site of the former Atkins Chapel.

Thinking it possible something might be done, I called upon the Chairman of the Burial Board, Mr. Aldridge, of "The Cock", and communicated my ideas to him, and my desire to have an investigation; and he, considering that if such a vault existed, its locality should be fixed, and identified with its owners, if any, and for other good reasons, acting as the responsible authority,



having the care of the churchyard, under the Act, determined to accede to my request. We accordingly started to dig in the churchyard on the morning of the 16th of December last. We began in the green grass, having nothing to guide our progress but tradition. However, after some digging in several directions, a wall was encountered to the left, and this proved to be the outside to the steps leading into the vault. But there was no name or mark of ownership, or anything externally whatever, to guide us, or tell to whom the place belonged ; or, indeed, if it were a place of sepulchre at all, till it was actually entered.

The descent was made with considerable difficulty owing to the steps being encumbered with the marble slabs forming the base of the monuments. At the entrance of the vault we found ourselves suddenly taken from the age of Victoria, as by a magician's wand, to the days when the Lord Protector Cromwell was living hard by in our old manor-house. Sir Richard Atkins, lord of the manor of Clapham, Sheriff of the county of Bucks in the days of the Commonwealth, stood at the left hand, at the entrance, in marble, clad in a suit of Carolinian armour, with a sash across it, and having a peruke, and the short-clipped moustache, more like eyebrows, which seemed the fashion. Behind him stood a lovely child, Rebecca, aged nine, his daughter, having a pretty frock with lace collar and wristbands, and holding in the most delicate fingers a skull. Opposite, facing the father, sat the son, Henry, aged twenty-four, in a Roman costume, but having on a peruke. Beyond, in a vault, we found two ladies, Lady Rebecca, the mother, recumbent, having a long veil, fine, bold features, and double chin. Beside her sat the eldest daughter, Annabella. She died at the age of nineteen, in Paris, in the year 1670, and her face is of much interest. She wears a gown with full sleeves and tight, low bodice ; hair short and curled ; and she sits beside her mother, with a book in her left hand, her fingers between the leaves. She is a beautiful young lady with refined, delicately shaped features ; and as we saw her pale, fair face by the dim light of the lamp we could not but regret her untimely end ; and also that those features which the sculptor had taken so much





pains to perpetuate, should be consigned to the same dark vault as her remains.

The Lady Atkins block (weighing, perhaps, some 15 cwt.) has been, with cruel irreverence, placed upon two of the lead coffins, which it has squeezed as flat as pan-cakes. In the vault are the base-blocks and inscribed stones making up the monument, which are in black and white marble. There is also a canopy. A good deal of these encasing marbles are on the stairs. The whole were evidently placed there temporarily in 1815, when the chapel of ease was built on the site of the old church; with the idea, no doubt, of re-erecting them on the obtaining of a suitable place,—an idea which, alas! still remains only such.

In the small work on Clapham, published by H. N. Batten in 1827 (now out of print), we find the following descriptions of these monuments, which first drew my attention to them:

(Pp. 70, 71.) “In the old church, on a tomb, are the recumbent figures, at full length, in white marble, of Sir Richard Atkins (son of Sir Henry) and his Lady”, etc. “The tomb is surrounded with rails decorated with the arms of his family and its alliances, and pennons with various crests. On the south side is this inscription (p. 56):—

“ ‘MEMORIÆ . SACRUM .

*D'ni Richardi Atkins de Clapham in Com. Surr. Militis & Baronetti qui obiit 19 August. Anno Christi 1689 & D'ne . Rebeccæ . mœstissimæ Ejus Relictæ Filiæ et Cohæredis Edmundi Wright (alias Bunckley) de Swarley in Com. Midd<sup>x</sup> Equitis Aurati, ex qua decem suscepit Liberos; Filios nempe duos, Filias octo, viz. Annabellam & Rebeccam quæ (una cum Henrico) Cœlibes obierunt, duas Filias abortivas, nunnq' Filium & Filias quatuor superstites scil' Ricardum, Mariam, Agnetem, Elizabetham & Rebeccam.*”

“On the north side is an inscription, also in Latin, to another Sir Richard Atkins, son of the above, etc.

“On a black marble tomb in the churchyard, supported with black and white marble, surrounded with iron rails, was the following inscription on a black marble tablet on the north side: ‘Here lye the body's of Sir Richd. Atkins, Kt. and Bart., Dame Rebecca his wife, Henry their eldest son, Annabella their eldest, and Rebecca their second

daughters.'—*N.B.* The tablet was afterwards broken off and laid by the tomb."<sup>1</sup>

(P. 71.) "On the east wall is the monument of the three children above mentioned, Henry, Rebecca, and Annabella. Under an arch supported by columns of white marble of the Corinthian order, are their effigies, as large as life. The son is sitting, in a Roman dress, with a flowing peruke; the daughters are dressed in gowns with full sleeves, puckered, and plain stomachers. The eldest is sitting with a book in her left hand; the other standing with a skull in her hands. Under the youngest daughter: 'Here lyeth y<sup>e</sup> body of Rebecka y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Sir Richd. Atkins of this place, Kt. and Bart., by Dame Rebecka his wife. She Departed this life in the 9th year of her age, y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of June 1661.' Atkins arms on the tomb, three . . . in chief; three plates; hand for a bart., impaling *sa.*, a chevron *arg.* charged with three plates between three bulls' heads *arg.*

"Under the other female figure: 'Here lyeth also the body of Annabella, the daughter of the aforesaid Sir Richard, who died at Paris, January y<sup>e</sup> 1st, in y<sup>e</sup> 19th year of her age, and interred here 1670.'

"Under the man: 'And also y<sup>e</sup> body of Henry, y<sup>e</sup> eldest son of the aforesaid Sir Richard. He departed this Life y<sup>e</sup> 15th Feby. 1677, ætatis suæ 24.'

"Under each are ten verses, but not worth transcribing. They may be seen in Aubrey, i, 151, 152" (also in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 85, Pt. 2, p. 490).

The manor of Clapham was originally purchased by Dr. Henry Atkins (or Atkyns), physician to King James I, who paid £6,000, which, according to a tradition in the family, arose from presents bestowed on him by the King after his return from Scotland, whither he had been sent to attend Prince Charles, then an infant, who lay dangerously ill of a fever. Dr. Atkins, it appears, was in such favour and esteem with the King that he offered him the first baronet's patent, which he in humility refused. He died in 1638, aged seventy-seven, and lies buried in Cheshunt Church, in Hertfordshire.

<sup>1</sup> This tomb still exists. The tablet on the north side is gone; but a modern one has been placed on the south side, which incorrectly describes the eldest daughter as "Arabella".







Sir Henry Atkins, his only son, knighted by King James I, succeeded him; and to him Sir Richard Atkins, whose monument is the subject of this monograph. He was also Sheriff for the county of Bucks in 1650, in those stormy days when John Hampden raised the Radical party of that day, in what then was the most "advanced" county in England; and which now (as a native of it) I may pronounce, without prejudice, to be otherwise. Lady Rebecca, the wife of Sir Richard, was the daughter and coheir of Sir Edmund Wright, *alias* Bunckley, of London and Swakeley, in Middlesex, by whom he had two sons,—Henry, whose effigy we have seen in the vault, who died before his father, Feb. 15, 1677, aged twenty-four, unmarried; and Sir Richard, his successor. Also six daughters,—Annabella and Rebecca, whose features we have admired, and whose early demise we have deplored, in our enchanted vault; Mary, married the Bishop of Kildare; Agnes, wife to Edward Atkins, Esq.; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Tooke, Esq., of Wormley in Herts.; and Rebecca, married to Sir Wolstan Dixie of Market Bosworth.

A number of Sir Richards and Sir Henries succeeded in title and estate till the 10th June 1756, when the last Sir Richard Atkins died, and devised his estates to his sister Penelope, wife of George Pitt, Esq., of Strathfield-saye in Hants, who was created Lord Rivers in 1776.

From Penelope the manor and estates passed to Richard Bowyer, Esq., fifth son of Sir William Bowyer of Denham Court, Bucks, to whom it was left by Sir Richard Atkins after the death of his sister, who consequently had only a life-interest in the property. He, with the manor and estates, took the name of Atkins pursuant to the will of Sir Richard. The present lord of the manor is the Rev. F. W. Atkins Bowyer.

I have a letter from Lieut.-General A. Pitt-Rivers, F.S.A., of Rushmore, Salisbury, who writes to inform me that he is a descendant of the Penelope who married the first Lord Rivers, and generously offers to contribute to the restoration of the monuments.

The great beauty and almost perfect condition of the monuments of the Atkins family render the find one of remarkable importance. The sculptor, whoever he was,

must have been one of the first men of the day ; indeed, the small statue of little Rebecca is one of the most charming pieces of work I have ever seen. It is quite worthy of Canova ; and not a day should be lost in bringing these worthy specimens of art to light. I am glad to say that Mr. Bowyer concurs in this view.

The question now comes, where should they be placed ? To this I feel sure the answer must be, somewhere near the remains of those they commemorate. The interest shown in the subject, both in Clapham and other parts of the kingdom, makes it almost a national question ; and if a proper resting-place can be found for them, they will form one of the most interesting groups of monumental sculpture to be found outside of Westminster Abbey.

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\* \* \* Since the above paper was written, it may be well to state what has been done. Legal and technical difficulties were encountered in touching the statues, evidence being wanting as to ownership and title. The vault, which had been closed, was re-opened, and the statues taken out, and placed, by kind permission of the Burial Board, in a mortuary in St. Paul's churchyard. A committee was formed, and subscriptions are being solicited for part restoration of the monuments, and it was decided that they should be placed in the north transept of St. Paul's Church, near the vault containing the remains of those they commemorate. Under sanction of the authorities, and with approval of the Consistory Court, this is now being carried out.

It will not be possible to replace the monuments entirely as before, parts of the base being lost ; but a design has been approved, in which the two recumbent figures will occupy altar-tombs on each side, and the three children will be placed in the centre, having a marble canopy over them, surmounted with the coats of arms.

Advantage is being taken of the opportunity to take down the marble monument of William Hewer (the clerk, and friend of Pepys), which is now exposed to weather, outside the church, and to place it in the wall of the chancel.

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## THE DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT SHIP AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

*(Read 19th May 1886.)*

DURING recent years this Association has had its attention drawn to the discovery of two specimens of the ancient shipwright's craft, which have revealed to us the modes of construction practised, and many interesting details of arrangement. The first of these was the but partially explored vessel, of large size, which still remains to await more complete investigation in the muddy banks of the little river, the Hamble, not far from Burslean Bridge, Southampton Water.

The second was the celebrated Viking ship found beneath a tumulus at Grogstad, the mound having been raised above it as a memorial of some unknown sea chief-tain who had been buried in the ship, which he had, doubtless, commanded.

The discovery of such remains of bygone days, indeed, may hardly be wondered at when consideration is given to the enormous number of ships that have been wrecked or abandoned during all the years of the long past. Instead of our treating the discovery of remains of old vessels as a matter of surprise, as we do, may we not rather be surprised that so few, comparatively, have been actually met with? The number is, however, greater than may be at first sight supposed.

The discovery which has just been made at Brigg has revealed another example of ancient construction, different from any that have yet been described to this Association, and in consequence it is more worthy of being recorded. The circumstances of the discovery, briefly, are as follow. The extension of the Brigg Gas-Works has occasioned arrangements for the erection of another gasometer, and accordingly a circle was marked out for its excavations.

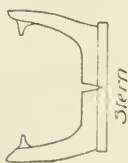
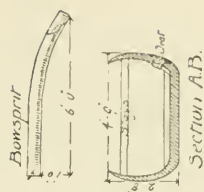
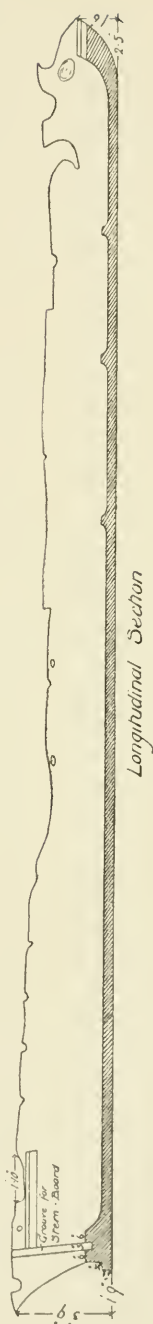
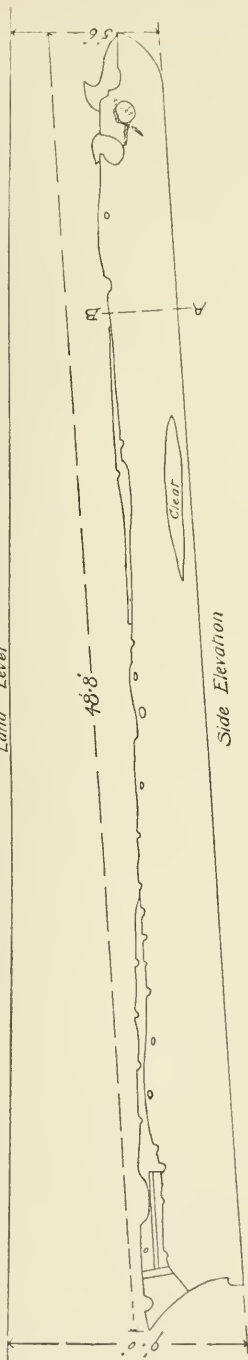




About the middle of the month of April the workmen came upon a huge mass of timber, which was found at a depth of about 3 ft. 6 ins. from the modern surface of the earth. They considered it but an ordinary log, and some little injury, but no more, was done to it. On its being found to extend to a great length, its true nature began to be observed, and it was soon found to be an enormous ship or boat dug out literally from the trunk of an enormous oak. The excavators proceeded with most commendable caution, and the whole extent of the ship was laid bare, inside and out. It is found to be formed of the trunk of a single huge oak-tree, the stern being worked out of the butt, and the prow out of the upper part. The total length is 48 ft. 8 ins.

Mr. William Stevenson of Scarborough, in a letter to *The Times*, of April 24th, which first reported this remarkable discovery to London readers, has most courteously given me many particulars of this remarkable find. The internal dimensions are as follow: the floor of the ship is 48 ft. long, the width is 4 ft. 3 ins., and the depth is 2 ft. 3 ins. The whole of this space has been "dug out" of the solid tree, to use the term applied in North America to similar constructions, as practised by the aboriginal Indian inhabitants and others to the present day. The sides are curved; and at the stern end they are sharply curved "so as to form an overhanging counter" or support for a seat. The floor is level, at right angles to the sides, and, as stated by Alfred Atkinson, Esq., A.M. Inst. C. E., the engineer superintending the works, "ridges of timber have been left at intervals, crossing the bottom athwart ship. These correspond with the floor-timbers of a modern craft." The excavation must have been done by an axe or an adze, the top part of the log having been first brought to a level, and the lower part being flattened, there being no keel. The bows are simply rounded, and not worked to any pattern or device, the appearance being as if the ship had been intended as a ram. The stem is cut to a plain slope, and there is no solid termination, the excavation being carried to the extreme end, probably on account of some looseness in the timber owing to its closeness to the roots. The end had, therefore, to be closed by other means, and

Land Level



ANCIENT SHIP FOUND AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE.



this was accordingly done by the insertion of a boarded end fitted into a triangular rebate perpendicularly, and at right angles to the sides and bottom. The sloping sides of the stern extend beyond this filling-in, and irrespective of it. There is no sign of a rudder; nor, indeed, ought we to look for one at the extreme end, as in modern practice, since the rudders of ancient craft appear to have been at the side, as in the Viking ship already referred to. The grooves were found to be caulked with moss, which had been "probably forced into the joint in a dry state, so as to swell and become tight when it got wet." The stern-board was missing when the ship was excavated, but has been found since. Moss was also found used as caulking a long crack in the timber, found in the starboard bilge of the ship. Moss and fern-leaves, it will be remembered, were found in the ancient ship near Botley,—a vessel of much larger dimensions, and probably of much less antiquity.

Within the vessel several curious, semicircular-shaped cleats have been found, formed at the junction of the floor with the upright sides. They are pierced with small circular holes intended for ropes or for lashing.<sup>1</sup> There are circular holes bored through the upper edges of the boat, not quite opposite one another. Beyond the stern-board there is one on each side, in a line with the others. Speaking of these Mr. Atkinson says: "Mr. Stevenson is probably quite right in considering that the holes through the upper edges of the sides, abaft the stern-board, were used for lashing the sides together. The other holes he speaks of were, I believe, made for the same purpose. When the boat was first uncovered, a beam or stretcher was found *in situ*. It was between the gunwales, and near one pair of holes. This stretcher would prevent the sides of the boat from closing in, and the lashing from hole to hole would keep them together. The stretcher

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Atkinson has sent me a sketch, from memory, of this curious portion of the construction, and he says: "The cleats formed part of a patch, of which the following is a sketch. The patch is about 4 ft. long, and was fastened by keys passing through the holes in the cleats, and also by sewing, with a small twisted rope, through small holes in the edges. In some places small pegs have been used." This patch was to make good a defect in the oak, and its use indicates an advanced knowledge of carpentry. (See the engraving.)

was not made of oak, but of some softer wood that fell to pieces when removed."

There was also found, when the coating clay was first cleared away from the bows, a curved piece of oak, not unlike an elephant's trunk in shape. The connection of this with the vessel, as a bowsprit, is open to much doubt; and although there is a rough, circular perforation in the rounded end of the bows, yet this is far more likely to be the result of the decay of the timber than of design: indeed, the solid appearance of this end, roughly rounded off as it is, justified Mr. Stevenson's remark, that "it gives the impression of its being used as a ram."

The dimensions already given diminish somewhat towards the bows, there being a little difference of size, the log of oak diminishing upwards from the butt. The enormous size of the tree which supplied this log may readily be conceived from the fact that its first branch was nearly 50 feet from the butt, the mark of its position being seen on the larboard side, not far from the rounded bows. Speaking of these remarkable dimensions, Mr. Stevenson says: "The tree itself is the finest stick of oak I have ever seen, and there is no tree growing in England to-day that is its equal. The straight, even growth, and the enormous length of the trunk before any branches present themselves, imply that it grew in some forest or soil highly favourable to its development. The diameter at the butt is about 5 ft. 3 ins.; at the first branch, which was nearly 50 ft. above the ground, it is about 4 ft. 9 ins., and throughout this length it is as straight as if turned in a lathe. These figures represent the tree after being divested of its bark and sapwood, which combined would be 4 to 6 ins. in thickness, the sapwood of oak being worthless for any purpose. The trunk of this tree, measured over the bark, contained between 900 and 1000 cubic feet; and when dressed for converting into this vessel, contained 700 ft. The log was flattened on the top for digging out." The bottom also may have been flattened somewhat; but if so, not much.

The holes referred to were only along the top edges, and were about 4 ins. in diameter. These are somewhat indistinct, owing to the decay of the wood and some injury in the earliest stages of the excavations. There is



one on each side at the bows, one on each side of the stern, and three or four towards the centre. These holes are obviously too small for oars, although they are in the position we should expect to find perforations for such use, and there are not sufficient of them. The holes at the bows were probably for some mooring purpose, and were found to be fitted with plugs, the out-bored ends of which are rounded off in the form of a boss.

There appears never to have been a deck of any kind to this curious vessel, although, perhaps, a few planks may have been thrown over the sloping brackets at the stern, to form a sort of raised seat or deck of small size.

The mode of navigation is not very clear from the actual remains. There is no sign of masts, and we have seen none of oars, while the rudder does not remain. We may, however, conclude, from the analogy of other similar "dug out" vessels, that the mode of propulsion was by oars, and that the rowlocks for their working were in the finished portion of the sides. Still it is curious that there should have been no traces of seats for the rowers. These were, doubtless, movable, and very probably lashed on to the side-bearers, which would have formed convenient ledges for support.

A few words may be devoted to the position in which this vessel has been found. The river Ancholme is the main overflow which takes the watershed of a stretch of country, speaking generally, extending from Lincoln to the Humber; the valley through which it flows, Ancholme Level, a low-lying district, being fairly parallel to its course; the ancient Roman road, the Ermine Street, running somewhat by its side, about a mile and a half to the west, on higher ground. Although this stream is now of no great size, and its purpose for drainage and commercial purposes is served better by the New Ancholme Navigation, yet there is every indication that at some early time it was of much greater extent and importance than at present, the soil being an alluvial, clayey deposit a foot beneath the present surface. While there is nothing, therefore, remarkable in the position of the vessel in such a deposit as this, yet it is matter for curious comment to find it so far removed from any stream of importance, and with the level grass-land of to-day above

the place where it was found. The imagination has to travel to a very distant past, when the little river was once wider, discharging its waters, it is probable, through a broad lagoon, or swamp, before reaching the main stream of the Humber, then (as now) nearly nine miles from the site of the vessel. The river, or what is left of it rather, is still only a few yards to the west of the ship, which is at right angles to it.

The occasion of the discovery has already been referred to, during the extension of the Gas-Works for the supply of the town of Brigg, or Glanford-Brigg, to give its name in full. These are to the north-west of the parish church, on the east side of the river, and about a furlong and a half to the north of the bridge over the Ancholme, from which the town derives its now popular name. The erection of a new gasometer being decided upon, "a circle had been marked out in a field, and, marvellous to state, it embraced the whole of this vessel. When 2 or 3 ft. of the soil and marine warp had been excavated, the head of the vessel presented itself", the head being raised above the level of the stern.

This discovery has to be considered in reference to that of another remarkable one, namely the planked road found at Brigg in 1884.<sup>1</sup> The position of these in relation to one another is curious, for were the course of the road prolonged eastward, it would come but the short distance of about 200 yards to the north-west of the position where the vessel has been found. The description of the depth at which the road was met with, 6 ft. below the present level of the surface, indicates a certain relation to the position of the ship. In *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* there is a section of the alluvial beds, with the position of the road, which is valuable as enabling us to consider the relative levels of the two objects.

In face of the facts revealed who can venture to assign a date for the formation of the vessel? Who can even venture to state its era? We know that it was before the great Ancholme Level had been filled up by aqueous deposit. In addition, Mr. Atkinson's diagram shows that even after this the deposit was covered with forest and

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Second Series, vol. x, No. II, p. 112.

underwood-growth, which again is covered by the thin layer of soil forming the modern level.

If we draw an analogy between this vessel and others found under somewhat similar circumstances, and those which are in use to-day, we shall have for consideration some facts which will be found to illustrate what has been found at Brigg.

The ancient boat found at North Stoke, close to the river Arun, in 1836, has many points of resemblance. It is hollowed out of a single oak-tree; total length, 34 ft. 6 ins. The end, however, tapers, and the stem is straight; but otherwise the mode of construction is fairly identical, even to the transverse ridges left in the floor.

Mr. Stevenson has sent me a drawing of another ship, which was 42 ft. long, now in the Edinburgh Museum (or at least a portion of it), showing the interior hollowed out in a similar way, and with a bow-end cut to represent an animal's head. There are holes through the sides for lashing with ropes, as in the Brigg vessel. These two examples (one in the south of England, the other in the south of Scotland), will, with the vessel at Brigg, indicate the large district in which such vessels were used; and we may safely consider that the relative ages are about equal, and that they are so remote as to justify our assigning them to prehistoric times. Still it is but reasonable to pursue the inquiry a little further.

Mr. Stevenson has shown me a letter from the Rev. Canon Greenwell, who speaks of similar "dug out" vessels of large size, in which he has often made voyages on the Bavarian Lakes. Vessels of similar class are, doubtless, in use there to the present time, as they are also in North America. A son of our esteemed friend Mr. Thos. Morgan, has just returned from British Honduras, and he has written to me on the subject before us, that there are there "some of the great primæval forests of mahogany and other timber". He tells me that vessels scooped out of one large tree are in constant use there for sea-navigation as well as rivers. He has seen them over 30 ft. long, and with plenty of width of beam, and carrying two masts. Finally, any of us may see the most modern development of this mode of construction in the gracefully rounded canoe now on view in the Canadian

Court of the Colonial Exhibition, where it has been worked out of the solid, and formed into the shape of a light built-up boat. The smallness of its dimensions renders the comparison not a favourable one ; but it enables us to trace how the past still lives in the present in this mode of construction. But who can tell the long past ages that intervene between the Canadian canoe and its progenitor just discovered at Brigg ?

The vessel has been not only cleared of the accumulated earth which had so completely buried it, but the difficult task of raising it has been successfully accomplished under Mr. Atkinson's direction. She is now safely lodged beneath temporary shelter, pending the decision as to her future destination. It is greatly to be hoped that she will be placed in some permanent museum, where she can be studied and inspected, since it would be a matter for much regret were she not to be cared for after so long a burial. There is abundance of space in the grounds of the York Museum, the nearest institution to the site of the discovery that has capabilities at its disposal for the reception of such an addition to the collection, where she could be studied to advantage, under a moderate amount of covering, in the open air.

Much praise is due to the Directors of the Brigg Gas-Works, as well as to Mr. Atkinson, for their care in their unexpected discovery, and the interest they have shown in its preservation. Thanks are due also to Mr. Stevenson, whose letter in *The Times* has already been not only referred to, but quoted from, at Mr. Stevenson's request, and with his permission.

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The accompanying engraving has been courteously placed at the disposal of the Council by the Editor of *The Builder*. It appeared in *The Builder*, vol. li, p. 88, with a description of the boat by Mr. James Thropp, C.E., county surveyor for Lincolnshire. It shows the position of the cleat or patch used in repairing the defect already referred to. The bent piece of timber, perhaps a bowsprit, is also shown. The so-called adze is thus described by Mr. Thropp : " Part of a branch of a tree was found, much resembling an adze ; and also some flints, which were so hard that the Gas Manager cut glass with them as readily as if a diamond had been used. It has been suggested that the flints were fixed at the curved end of this adze when in use."

Since the above article was written, a lawsuit has occurred relative to the ownership of the boat, it being claimed by the finders and by the lord of the manor. It has been decided in favour of the latter.



## SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES AT CHICHESTER.

BY M. H. BLOXAM, ESQ.

*(Read at the Brighton Congress, 1886.)*

LITTLE more than nine years ago the late Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, the well known ecclesiastical antiquary, wrote to me to inquire if I had ever examined the tomb in Chichester Cathedral popularly ascribed to Bishop Richard de la Wych, who died A.D. 1253, and was canonised by Pope Urban IV A.D. 1261, and who was thenceforth known as St. Richard, whose translation took place A.D. 1276, and whose life is given in that costly and voluminous work (to which few have access), the *Acta Sanctorum*, under the day April 11th.

I had not, indeed, noticed the supposed tomb of St. Richard; but shortly afterwards, whilst staying at Beeding Priory, I went down to Chichester, and as far as the limited time afforded by railway in travelling to and fro in the day permitted, I took brief notes of some of the ancient sepulchral effigies and monuments in the Cathedral. I was unable, for the reason above stated, to stay in the Cathedral so long as I could have wished, and my notes were somewhat hurried and fragmental. Such, however, as I took them down at the time I give them, on the understanding that allowance must be made for my having had no opportunity since of comparing them afresh for revision.

None of the ancient sepulchral monuments in the Cathedral of Chichester, especially those which are uninscribed, can, I think, be attributed to an earlier period than the latter part of the twelfth century: I doubt, indeed, if so early. At the entrance into the Lady Chapel are three coffin-shaped slabs commemorative of bishops, one only of which bears an inscription, RADVLFFVS EPİ. This slab, wider at the upper than the lower part, is somewhat raised, and the surface is narrower than the base. Upon it is sculptured, in relief, a pastoral staff



headed with a plain curved crook, and a simple mitre with *infulæ* depending from it. This tomb has been ascribed to Bishop Ralph Luffa, who died A.D. 1123.

On the south side of the Lady Chapel, or the entrance thereto, beneath a pointed arch, cusped within, and crocketed above (apparently of later date than the tomb over which it appears), is a low, coffin-shaped slab, somewhat raised, bearing a pastoral staff in relief, crossing from right to left. Near to this is another coffin-shaped slab bearing a pastoral staff crossing from left to right. These tombs have been severally ascribed to Bishop Hilary, who died A.D. 1169, and Bishop Seffrid II, who died A.D. 1204. Uninscribed, however, as they are, I look upon the ascriptions as uncertain, and think they may be of a later date, though not so late, perhaps, as the cusped and crocketed arch above.

On a slab in the north aisle is a pastoral staff of very simple design, incised. Of what bishop this was commemorative, I know not; but as I know of no incised slabs earlier than the thirteenth century, I would assign this tomb to an early period in that age.

At the east end of the south aisle of the choir is a coffin-shaped slab of Purbeck marble, slightly raised above the pavement, with a hollow moulding round the verge. This appears to be an episcopal tomb of the early half of the thirteenth century. It exhibits a shield and mitre upheld by angels; but of what bishop it is commemorative I am ignorant.

There is a slab on the pavement at the back of the altar-screen, in which, within a trefoil, two hands are sculptured, supporting a heart, with the inscription in Norman French, *ICI GIST LE CŒUR MAUD DE .....*, the lady's name being illegible. It was no uncommon custom, when a heart was buried apart from the body (which was not unfrequently the case), for the place of sepulture to be thus pointed out. My notes do not enable me to decide whether this is a memorial of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

On a high, panelled tomb is the recumbent effigy of a bishop, reputed to be that of St. Richard; but evidently of a much later period than the time of his death, canonisation, and translation. On the head is worn a plain

mitre; round the neck, the amice, with a stiff parure, is folded. The body-vestments consist of the alb, over which appear the extremities of the stole. The dalmatic, open at the sides, is worn above the alb, but there is no appearance of the tunic. Over the dalmatic is worn the chasuble. The right hand is gloved, and upheld in act of benediction. On the middle finger the episcopal ring is worn. The left hand, also gloved, holds the pastoral staff, which is veiled, and the crook sculptured with foliage. The maniple depends from the left arm, and at the feet of the effigy is a dog. The face is close-shaven, and the head reposes on a lozenge and square cushion, supported by small statuettes of angels in albs, one on each side. The statuettes on the sides of this tomb are modern, for it has undergone of late considerable reparation. There is a perceptible difference in episcopal and other ecclesiastical sepulchral effigies after the middle of the fourteenth century; for up to that time, *circa* 1350, we find ecclesiastics of sacerdotal or episcopal rank wearing the moustache over the upper lip, and the short, crisp beard about the chin; but after that period the upper lip and chin were close-shaven. And such is the case with this effigy; a fact which evidences it could not have been sculptured less than at least a century after the death of St. Richard.<sup>1</sup> There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that he was ever commemorated by a sculptured, recumbent effigy. Canonised within eight years of his death, his remains were subsequently translated or placed in a shrine differing altogether in fashion from a sepulchral monument such as this.

At the south-east corner of the south transept is the recumbent effigy, much mutilated, of Bishop John de Langton, who died A.D. 1337. The upper portion of the mitre is gone; but the *infule* remain, hanging down behind. Round the neck is folded the amice. The body-vestments consist of the alb, over which is worn the dalmatic, and over that the chasuble, whilst depending from the left arm is the maniple. There are but small remains

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Gordon M. Hills, the learned architect of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, this is the tomb of Bishop Robert de Stratford, who died A.D. 1362.

of the pastoral staff, and these are on the left side of the effigy.<sup>1</sup>

In the wall of the north aisle of the choir, on a high tomb of alabaster, the front of which is panelled and decorated with shields, is the recumbent effigy of a bishop. This has been ascribed, whether rightly or wrongly I cannot say, to Bishop Adam de Moleyns, who died A.D. 1449.<sup>2</sup> On the head is the *mitra preciosa*, much mutilated, as is also the face. The hands are gone, but were conjoined, and richly gloved. The body-vestments consist of the alb, over which appear the extremities of the stole, which are tasseled, not fringed; over this is worn the tunic, then the dalmatic, and over all the chasuble. The maniple depends from the left arm. The sleeves, both of the alb and dalmatic (the latter wider than the former) are visible. On the left side appears the pastoral staff, the crook of which is gone. This effigy is much mutilated.

On the south side of the nave, near the entrance into the choir, is a plain, high tomb of Purbeck marble. This is ascribed to Bishop John Arundel, who died A.D. 1477. The incised brass effigy of the Bishop on the top of this tomb is completely defaced; the inscription on the sides is also gone. At each corner was one of the Evangelistic symbols, and at the sides two shields. These are also gone.

On the south side of the north aisle of the choir, beyond the altar-screen, is a plain, high tomb. This has been attributed to Bishop Edward Story, who died A.D. 1503. This, however, is incorrect. The ledger or covering stone is an ancient altar-stone; and this was possibly the monument of Bishop Barlow, who died A.D. 1569. From each side of this tomb an escutcheon has been torn away.

Beneath a canopy in the south wall of the south side of the choir is a high tomb of alabaster, divided in front into four compartments containing shields charged with armorial bearings. On this tomb is the recumbent effigy

<sup>1</sup> Mr. G. M. Hills is of opinion that this effigy is of earlier date than the tomb on which it is placed, and consequently not that of Bishop Langton.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. G. M. Hills this is not the tomb of Bishop Adam de Moleyns, but is that of Bishop Story, who died A.D. 1503.

of Bishop Robert Sherborne, who died A.D. 1536. His face is close-shaven, his hair clubbed. On his head he wears the *mitra preciosa* with *infulæ* attached. About the neck is folded the amice with its parure. The other vestments consist of the alb, with the parure in front, at the skirts; above is worn the tunic, over that the dalmatic, and over all the chasuble with orphreys. On the feet are round-toed sandals, which rest against a lion. The hands are gloved, and conjoined as in prayer. On the left of the body is the pastoral staff headed with a highly floriated crook. Small statuettes of angels support the head.

Opposite the tomb assigned by mistake to Bishop Story, but on the south side, is a plain, high tomb, on which a mitre, pastoral staff, and shield have been engraved. This has been attributed to Bishop George Day, who died A.D. 1556.

The mural monument of Bishop Thomas Bickley, who died A.D. 1596, is the only one in the Cathedral which exhibits the effigy in the ecclesiastical habit of a bishop as worn in the reign of Elizabeth, differing altogether from the episcopal vestments in use up to the close of the reign of Henry VIII. The effigy of this Bishop, of small size, only 2 ft. 6 ins. in height, is represented kneeling before a faldstool, bare-headed, with moustache and beard. Round the neck is worn a ruff. The episcopal habit consists of a rochet with full, white sleeves, with a black chimere, over which is worn a black tippet,—the miscalled scarf of later days, the canonical or choral habit of a former age, in later times mistaken for the stole. This effigy is placed beneath a coved or semicircular arch, over which is a horizontal pediment or entablature supported on either side by a Corinthian column. This entablature is surrounded by an escutcheon surrounded by scroll-work.

On the north side of the north aisle of the nave is a high tomb, in front of which are six quatrefoiled compartments, three of which contain shields, and three statuettes in relief; which are, however, much mutilated. The same arrangement occurs on the opposite side. On this tomb is the recumbent effigy of a lady; her head, neck, and chin-attire consisting of the veil and



wimple ; her body-dress, of the gown and mantle. The drapery of these is disposed in graceful folds, the sleeves (which are apparent) of the inner vest are close-fitting, the hands are conjoined in prayer, and at the feet are two whelps. This is a monument of the fourteenth century ; but the name of the lady thus commemorated is unknown.

On a high tomb adjoining the north wall of the north aisle of the nave are two recumbent effigies ; the one of a nobleman, or knight in armour ; the other that of his lady, lying on his right side. He is represented in a conical basinet and camail of mail ; his head reposing on a tilting helm, with a lion's head as the crest. An emblazoned jupon<sup>1</sup> is worn over the body-armour, and a horizontal bawdric around the hips. Attached to the breastplate, which is concealed by the jupon, is a skirt of mail. Cuisses, genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets (the latter laminated and pointed), defend the thighs, knees, legs, and feet. On the left side a sword is worn ; on the right, an anelace or dagger. A gauntlet is held in the left hand ; the right hand is clasping that of the lady. At his feet is a lion. The lady appears in a round head-dress, or plaited coif, and veil worn over it ; over the neck and chin a widow's gorget is worn. The body-dress consists of a gown and mantle ; the drapery curiously arranged. At the feet of the lady is a dog.

This tomb has been ascribed to Richard Fitzalan, the fourteenth Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded A.D. 1397 ; but the armour would appear to be at least a generation earlier than his death, and his body was buried in London. He was twice married. His first wife died A.D. 1385, and was buried at Lewes ; his second wife, who survived him, married again after his death. She died A.D. 1400, and was buried at Boxgrove. This tomb is said not to have been placed in this Cathedral originally, but to have been brought hither from some other church. This is probable. On the suppression of

<sup>1</sup> A lion rampant, which is that emblazoned on the jupon, was the coat of the Albini, Earls of Arundel, and was adopted by the Fitzalans. John Fitzalan, cousin, and one of the heirs of Hugo de Albini, who died A.D. 1243, became ninth Earl of Arundel. He died A.D. 1262. I think this tomb may have been that of Richard Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl of Arundel, who died A.D. 1376, and was buried at Lewes.



monasteries some of the sepulchral monuments in such conventual churches as were destroyed were removed to other churches for preservation. Of such supposed cases a goodly list might be made. Half a century ago this tomb was in a dilapidated condition. It was restored in 1843.

The ancient sepulchral monuments in this Cathedral have, as in other cathedrals, undergone more or less mutilation and change. The former notably in the civil wars of the seventeenth century, when much destruction was effected by the troops of the Parliamentary army. Brasses were stripped from sepulchral slabs, and many supposed ascriptions to the monuments; the exceptions being few, are but guesswork. It would require no inconsiderable amount of investigation and patience in an endeavour to ascertain not only the original positions of such tombs as are doubtful, but the real personages of whom they are commemorative. Unfortunately this is a Cathedral of which Browne Willis did not treat.

I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Gordon M. Hills for the rectification of several misstatements I had been led into, and which I have referred to in the notes. The omission of any notice of the canopies over certain of the tombs was owing to the want of time, and my intention to return and complete my notes at a future period; which did not, however, occur.

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ON A FUNERIAL STONE  
INSCRIBED WITH GREEK HEXAMETERS,  
DISCOVERED AT  
BROUGH-UNDER-STANEMORE, WESTMORELAND,  
IN RESTORING THE CHURCH, A.D. 1879.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, V.P., M.A., F.S.A.

(*Read 2 December 1885.*)

No inscription has excited more interest among scholars in this country, or received more careful examination, than the stone found at Brough, the ancient Roman station of *Verteræ*, in Westmoreland. It forms the seventh Greek inscription recorded to have been discovered in this island. The six preceding inscribed stones are,—the altars found at Lanchester, co. Durham, and at Maryport, Westmoreland, inscribed to ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΣ, the Roman Æsculapius.<sup>1</sup> The two found at Corchester, in Northumberland; the one an altar to ΑΣΤΑΡΤΗΣ,<sup>2</sup> As-tarte or Luna; the other to ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ, Hercules,<sup>3</sup> now in the British Museum. The two metal tablets found at York; one inscribed ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΟΤ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΚΟΤ ΠΡΑΙ-ΤΩΡΙΟΤ; the other, ΩΚΕΑΝΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΘΥΙ. And the altar found at Chester, inscribed [Θεοῖς σωτ]ήρσιν ὑπερμεν-έσω.<sup>4</sup>

The Brough inscription is monumental. An impression or a cast was sent at first into Germany and Denmark, where it was thought to be *Runic*, and a reading propounded; but on a careful examination, in England, by Prof. Sayce, he perceived that the letters were Greek. Accordingly, in a communication addressed to *The Academy* (14 June 1884, No. 632), he gave a reading of the

<sup>1</sup> See Hübner, *C. I. L.*, vol. vii, p. 85; also *Lapid. Septentrionale*, No. 878.

<sup>2</sup> See *Lapid. Sept.*, No. 637.

<sup>3</sup> See Hübner, *C. I. L.*, vol. vii, p. 97; also *Lapid. Sept.*, No. 636.

<sup>4</sup> See Hübner, *C. I. L.*, vol. vii, p. 48.

twelve lines of which the inscription on the stone consists, with a conjectural rendering into English. The Rev. G. F. Browne had written out the first two lines as Greek, in August 1883, after seeing the engraving of the inscription as Runic.

Further and more minute examination discovered that the stone contained five hexameter lines, each of which was marked by a stop (≈) at the end. This was pointed out by Professor Ridgeway in a letter addressed to *The Academy* (June 21st, 1884, No. 633), and his opinion was confirmed by that of other scholars. Many opinions were elicited respecting the reading, and Professor Ridgeway having made a journey to Brough, examined the stone, and obtained impressions. This further facilitated the work of interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

An explanation of the inscription, by Mr. Arthur J. Evans of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, appeared in *The Academy* (Aug. 30, 1884).

Happily, with the concurrence of the Vicar and churchwardens of Brough, the stone has been placed in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, where it is accessible to epigraphists and scholars from all parts. A plate from a photograph, and a description of it, appeared in *The Athenæum* of Nov. 22, 1884 (No. 2978).<sup>2</sup> The length of the stone is 23 ins., and the width 12½. The inscribed portion has a border round it; the sides having branches with leaves resembling palms; the top an oblong, divided into two portions or panels, with lines forming crosses. The lettering of the stone, put into Greek as now written,<sup>3</sup> is :—

ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΧΕΤΗ ΤΙΣ  
ΙΔΩΝ ΤΥΜΒΩ ΣΚΕΦΘΕΝΤ  
ΥΠΟ ΜΟΙΡΗΣ ≈ ΕΡΜΗ<sup>4</sup>  
ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΟΣ  
ΦΡΑΣΑΤΩ ΤΟΔ ΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ ≈  
ΧΑΙΡΕ ΣΤ ΠΑΙ ΠΑΡ ΕΜΟΥ  
ΚΗΝΠΕΡ ΘΗΗΤΟΝ ΒΙΟ<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his letter to *The Academy*, 9 July 1884.

<sup>2</sup> An autotype can, I understand, only be obtained by applying to the Rev. G. F. Browne, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup> See *Cambridge University Reporter*, March 3, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> Supply N, as read by Prof. Clark and others.

ΕΡΠΗΣ ∞ ΩΚΥΤΑΤ ΕΠΙ  
 ΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΕΡΟΠΩΝ ΕΠΙ  
 ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΩΝ ΓΗ<sup>1</sup> ∞ ΚΟΤ ΨΕΤ  
 ΣΕΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙΣ ΕΡΜΗΣ<sup>2</sup>  
 \* \* \* \*

The translation of which is literally, or nearly so, as rendered by Professor Clark :

“Hermes of Commagene here,—  
 Young Hermes, in his sixteenth year,—  
 Entombed by fate before his day  
 Beholding, let the traveller say :—  
 ‘Fair youth, my greeting to thy shrine ;  
 Though but a mortal course be thine,  
 Since all too soon thou wing’st thy flight  
 From realms of speech to realms of night,  
 Yet no misnomer art thou shown,  
 Who with thy namesake god art flown.’ ”

The first point to be noted is that the Greek word beginning the first line (ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΧΕΤΗ) must be read ΕΚΔΕΧΕΤΗ, or the line would be a syllable too long. There is authority for this; and otherwise the line would not scan.<sup>3</sup> The next is the word σκεφθέντ, which must be rendered *covered* or *hidden*, from σκέπω. The words χαίρε παῖ παρ’ ἐμοῦ must be regarded as a *greeting* to young *Hermes* from his friend, or a traveller. The words κῆνπερ θνητὸν βίον(ν) ἐρπῆς are more difficult of explanation.

One writer supposes that *Hermes* had been lost or made captive; but it may relate to his past condition contrasted with that of the god *Hermes*, after whom he was named. Authority for this is given by Professor Clark.<sup>4</sup> The (ν) is omitted in the word βίον, written βίο; as also in γῆν, which is written γῆ.

The question arises, who are the Κιμμέριοι? It has been conjectured that the Caledonii are so termed, and that *Hermes* may have been taken captive or perished in the campaign of *Severus* against the Caledonians; but *Homer* places their abode at the entrance to *Hades*, and the flitting of the shade of *Hermes* to their abode is contrasted

<sup>1</sup> Supply N, as read by Prof. Clark and others.

<sup>2</sup> Here a verb must be supplied, which is apparently effaced. Prof. Clark would read ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ.

<sup>3</sup> See Kaibel, No. 718.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge University Reporter*, 3 March 1855, p. 406.

with the condition of the god Hermes, whose name the youth had borne.

The last line is defaced. In the last line but one some of the lettering is left to conjecture; but the damaged letters near the beginning of the line seem to make the word ΑΡΑΘΟΣ. This reading was announced by Mr. Browne at a meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 23 Feb. 1885, and independently at Berlin two or three months later.

The peculiar form of many of the letters has led to conjectures regarding the date of the inscription. The stone is inscribed in uncial Greek characters. Uncial Greek writing, according to Canon Taylor, has hitherto been found exclusively in *codices*, other Greek inscriptions being written in capitals, the forms of which differed from those of the uncial letters. "Thus this inscription is of peculiar interest, being the only lapidary record in uncial characters hitherto discovered, and supplying, in the case of several letters, transitional forms which had hitherto been sought in vain."<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the *date* and the *place* where the inscription was discovered, it was most probably erected after the expedition of Severus into Scotland, *i.e.*, some time after A.D. 209. At Brough-under-Stanemore were found the leaden *signacula* recorded in the *Archæological Journal*, and exhibited at one of the meetings<sup>2</sup> of the Institute. These had come into the possession of Miss Hill, who resided at Castle Bank, near Appleby, and were shown by her to the writer of this account, who made drawings of them, and sent them to Mr. Albert Way, who at once discovered their interest. At his request they were exhibited to the Archæological Institute, and a record preserved, which has led to further discoveries of a similar kind. These *signacula* have letters or marks impressed on them, and one has the words ΑΛΑ ΣΑΒ (*ala Sabiniana*), a Syrian body of cavalry. Two altars have been discovered at Magna (Carvoran), on the line of the Roman Wall; one dedicated by a cohort of Hamii, and the others by an *ala* with the epithet *Sabiniana*. These

<sup>1</sup> See *Cambridge University Reporter*, March 3rd, 1885, p. 497.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xx, p. 181; also *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vii, pp. 32, 197, and vol. vi.



were Syrian soldiers, the name *Hamii* being from the Latinised form of the town or province whence the cohort had been enrolled,—*Hamath* on the Orontes, also called Epiphaneia.

Commagene, the country whence the youth commemorated on the inscribed stone came, was a district of Syria, and formed part of the Greek kingdom of Syria until it became incorporated in the Roman empire in the time of Vespasian. It is not improbable that in this Emperor's time the Syrian cohort was enrolled, and sent into Britain at a later period. The mention of Commagene, and the fact of a youth of that nation having died in Britain while attached to one of the bodies of Roman soldiers quartered in this island, is a very curious and interesting instance of the distant parts of the world being brought together under the Roman rule. The inscription being composed in Greek hexameters, and the style being Homeric Greek, is a still more interesting instance of the cultivation of that language, and the use of it among the educated classes.

The other Greek inscribed altars also run in hexameter lines, as, for instance, those found at Corchester,—

ΑΣΤΑΡΤΗΣ<sup>1</sup> ΒΩΜΟΝ Μ'ΕΣΟΡΑΣ ΠΟΤΑΝΕΡ Μ'ΑΝΕ-  
ΘΗΚΕΝ;

and

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΤΤΡΙΩ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ;

and that found at Chester. In this northern and inclement clime were to be found, among the Roman armies, cultivated men who had brought with them the language and literature of Eastern civilisation.

The stone itself is a very hard sandy grit, and has been cut with some difficulty, and the letters are not always easy to trace. The lower part of the last line has been injured, and the reading of one word must of necessity be conjectural. The stone has been placed in the masonry of the tomb probably on the front face. The *palm-tree* was sacred to *Hermes*, which accounts for the ornamentation on the sides of the stone; also the number *four*, which accounts for the devices at the top of the stone, composed of *four lines*. Each panel, composed of

<sup>1</sup> Astarte was a Syrian goddess.

four lines, has four cross-lines within it. Also the whole panel is contained within four lines. For an account of the god *Hermes* and his attributes, see Smith's *Classical Dictionary of Mythology*, etc.

Some words used in the epigraph are probably allusive to *Hermes*. Thus, ΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ,—*Hermes* being the god of travellers; ΩΚΥΤΑΤ' ΕΠΙΤΗΣ, allusive to *swiftness*, an attribute of *Hermes*; ΜΕΡΟΠΩΝ, articulate speaking,—to eloquence, another attribute; ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΩΝ, the land of the shades,—*Hermes* conducting souls thither; ΨΕΥΣΕΙ, allusive to the ability of *Hermes* in *deceit*.

After careful examination I think that there is no doubt of the correct reading of the stone. The following epitaph inscribed upon a marble now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No. 27 in the Sculpture Room),<sup>1</sup> but apparently of a date considerably anterior to the Brough Stone, gives a good idea of the inscriptions on Greek funereal monuments, and has certain features in common with the epitaph to *Hermes* :—

Τειμόθεος Δασεῖος χαῖρε.

Τειμόθεος, ὁ Πάτρας ὅσιος φῶς, παῖς δὲ Δασεῖος,  
 τρῖς δεκάτας ἐτέων τερματίσας ἔθανες·  
 ἂ τάλαν, ὀικτεῖρω σε πολυκλαύστῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ,  
 νῦν δὲ σὺν ἡρώων χώρον ἔχοις φθίμενος.

In this epitaph, as well as in the Brough Stone, there are errors in the cutting. Thus, in line 2, δεκάτας is written for δεκάδας; in line 4, ηῦν is written for νῦν.

A fragment of sculpture above the epitaph shows a bas-relief of a figure on horseback, supposed to have some peculiar reference to the ancient Cimmerian Bosphorus; but to me it seems more probable that the stone was the monument of a horse-soldier or officer of cavalry.

<sup>1</sup> See *C. I. Gr.*, 2127; Kaibel, *Epigr. Græc.*, 539.

## REPORT ON THE RECENT DISCOVERIES AT WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. CANON COLLIER, M.A., F.S.A.

(*Read 3 February 1886.*)

As Local Secretary for this part of Hants, I send a report of the archæological work near Winchester, and of an interesting work now being carried on at Winchester Cathedral under the superintendence of the Dean. I have taken the accounts as given in the local papers, and have used especially the papers on the subject written by the Dean, but have verified the statements in every case.

Every one who has interested himself in the history of the old city of Winchester knows that there was, near the Cathedral, another foundation of a similar character, called the "New Minster". The chronicler says: "Iste (Alfred) fecit in Wintonia in cæmeterio episcopalis ecclesiæ novum monasterium". This monastic society was eventually removed to the north side of the city. The present Dean of Winchester has cut trenches across the Cathedral Yard, between the Cathedral and Bishop Morley's College, to see if the foundations of the New Minster yet remain under the ground, and thus, in his own words, "to settle for ever the uncertainty as to the position of the New Minster." In a communication to a local paper he says "our excavations have resulted in the discovery of a wall 3 ft. 7 ins. broad, running due east and west at a distance of 27 ft. from the north wall of the north transept."<sup>1</sup>

The New Minster was built in a most unhealthy place; the choirs disturbed each other; and the minsters were

<sup>1</sup> The question of what buildings this wall was the foundation is an interesting one. The wall is certainly early work. Was it part of the foundation of the New Minster buildings? Tradition is in favour of that theory. The wall may have been the foundation of some building connected with the New Minster, but not of the Minster itself. An eminent local authority thinks the New Minster was at a greater distance northward than the wall discovered.

so near together that the necessary removal of the conventual body to new buildings in Hyde Meadow was carried out by Bishop William Giffard. The remains of King Alfred and his Queen, and others, were removed to the new buildings; but as Bishop Milner, the historian of the city, complains, all these bodies were profanely disturbed when, on the spot where the mitred Abbey of Hyde stood, a prison for the district was erected. A few years ago some excavations were made on the spot where the Abbey, and afterwards the prison, stood, and many relics connected with the former were discovered, and carefully preserved.

In the soil thrown from the trenches cut by order of the Dean in the Cathedral Yard, have been found "many fragments of Roman tiles and bricks, and a piece or two of an encaustic tile." Near the north transept, too, has been found a broad base of rubble, some 8 ft. under the surface, running at right angles to this wall; which base turns eastward, though as yet the excavations have not followed these indications. Stone coffins have been uncovered, against the base of the north transept, only a foot or so beneath the original level.

"When we got round to the angle between the north transept and the nave, I ordered", says the Dean, "the men to clear away the stonework built round a pair of Norman columns which support a circular arch. Here we were rewarded by a rich succession of discoveries. First, the Norman work showed clearly that it had been an entrance into the church, placed in a somewhat unusual position. I find a parallel to it in Viollet le Duc, who, under the head, 'Transept', describes a similar entrance at Conques, in the Department of Aveyron, when he says, 'The faithful were not allowed to enter the church through the west portals, but had to go in round the corner.' Immediately after beginning here we got at the beautiful head and shoulders of a figure representing an aged king wearing a double crown of delicate carved work, of the fifteenth century. It had been richly gilt, and the whole figure carefully coloured. It is a piece of real beauty, full of pathos and genius, the work of a craftsman of no mean order. From that moment a ceaseless stream of fragments has come forth,—portions of

draperies; a small female head painted bright red, as a foundation for gilding, traces of which are still to be seen; several little hands carrying books, one of them exquisitely modelled, with the fingers in between the leaves, the muscles of the back of the hand carefully given, and even the binding of the little volume delicately indicated; several bodies of saints, about 15 inches to 18 inches high; the feet and base of a little St. Dorothy, with the painted inscription still perfectly legible (St. Dorotye); a quantity of good canopy-work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; some fragments of singularly twisted columns of Purbeck stone; and a large slab of Purbeck, some 6 ft. long, with panels, fifteenth century carved work, on it. It must have been the front part of some altar or tomb."

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I have again to report progress with respect to the Dean's work at Winchester Cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

Before clearing out the soil and useless masses of masonry under the Lady Chapel, a hole was opened in the floor to the depth of a foot, by which to examine the position of the vaulting. In doing so the workmen met with a vault in which was the body of a layman. The body was in a wooden coffin which had been tarred on the outside, and bound with plaited ropes of grass. The body had evidently been packed in hay. In removing the mass of walling in the crypt another coffin was found. This was of lead, and showed signs of damage from the mass of loose stones above it. On the lid of the coffin were the arms of the Courtneys. This was evidently the coffin of Bishop Courtney, who died Bishop of Winchester in 1492.

Since writing the above, the Dean has finished the clearing out of the crypt as far as it is safe to carry that work. In doing this certain indications were found which seem to prove that the shrine of St. Swithin must have stood between the chantries of Beaufort and Waynflete. The damage and its reparation, in connection with the

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that owing to the flowing of water into the crypt it had been filled up with a kind of chalky concrete to the depth of 3 to 4 feet. This has been removed except where the process might weaken the foundation, and precautions have been taken against any further in-flowing of water.



fall of the great tower, are clearly seen. A well of clear water was also found in the centre of the apse. The well, which was 4 ft. deep, had 2 or 3 ft. of water in it. The whole crypt is now quite another place. Useless masses of stonework have been swept away, vistas opened, and Walkelin's grand work brought to light, and, as the Dean says, made intelligible.

I have to mention some other discoveries made in Winchester within the last few weeks. Immediately to the west of the present Town Hall is a modern castellated mansion standing on the site of the Nunnery founded by Alswitha, Alfred's Queen-wife, for Benedictine nuns, and formerly called the "Nunna Minster". Some workmen, digging there recently, found several skeletons in cists formed of blocks of chalk. Similar cists were found, some years ago, immediately in front of the western end of the Cathedral. The blocks were rough, uncut on the outside, but smooth on the inside. In one cist were found a paten and chalice, denoting the priestly office of the person buried. This Nunnery was rebuilt by Henry II, but shared the fate of other similar foundations in the time of Henry VIII.

I have also to inform you of an interesting though not important discovery at Crux Easton in this county. Crux Easton is named after Crock, the King's hunter, who owned this manor in the time of the *Domesday Survey*. We read: "Isdem Croc tenet Estune. Linxi tenuit de rege Edw. in paragio", etc. While making some alterations on the lawn of the Rectory, three stones were found, carved with the zigzag pattern. They had evidently formed part of the arch of the Norman church. The old church was pulled down about one hundred and twenty years ago, and the present ugly building erected in its place.

## A BRIGHTON CONGRESS NOTE.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

THE churches of Worth, Sompting, and Bosham, in the county of Sussex, of which sketches are given herewith, form a little group of early work perhaps as interesting as any that could be pointed to within the same distance. In the tower of Sompting, the north side of Worth, and its chancel and transept-arches, and the chancel-arch of Bosham, there is certainly a family likeness, but at the same time there is diversity in their details. The outline of the roof at Sompting is said to be unique in England; and perhaps there is no other church than Worth which possesses the peculiar kind of windows which flank its nave. They resemble the baluster-mullioned openings of several belfry-windows, such as St. Michael's, Oxford; Holy Trinity, Colchester; and others, which never were intended for glazing. What the original provision for enclosing the openings was at Worth, it is now hard to say. It will be noticed that the central pilaster-strips in the tower of Sompting are semicircular on plan, and not flat, as is usual; and in the carving of their caps, and also in that of the caps to the interior arches of this tower, there is a refinement which gives a decided Romanesque character to the work.

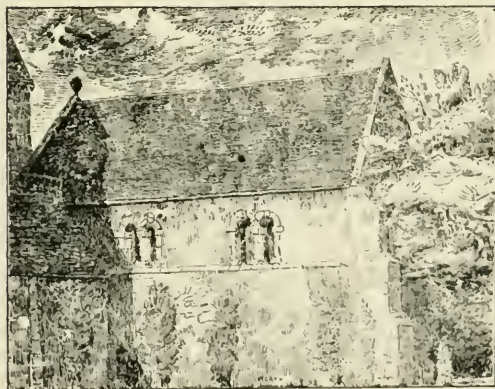
In the mouldings of the chancel-arch at Bosham, refinement of detail is carried further than at Worth. Classing these works together, as of Saxon origin, it is still not clear whether the comparative delicacy and classicity of detail at Sompting, or the more elaborate mouldings at Bosham, or the rudeness at Worth, may be certainly described as precedent.

The general proportions which prevail in all early work, as at the garrison church at Dover, the parish church at Stanton Lacy, are present in these Sussex examples.

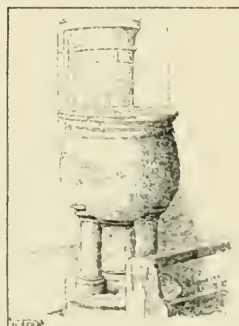
In the county of Kent there is, in nearly all early work of this character, the prevalent use of what are erroneously called Roman bricks, as at Dover, Canterbury, Lyminge, and elsewhere; but it may, perhaps, be said that there is an entire absence of that material in the early Sussex work. At the Castle Church, Dover, the entire dressings to the windows are of brick, and they are



SOMPTING.



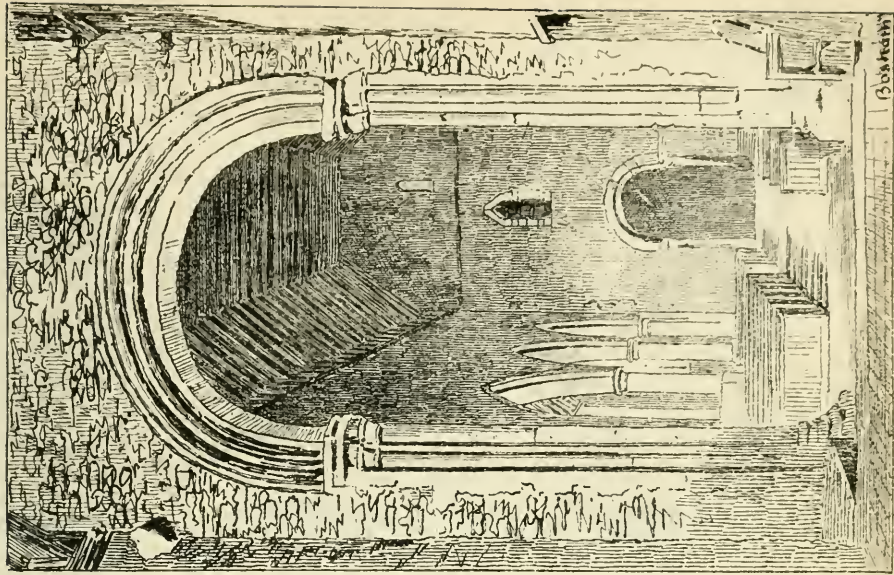
WORTH.



FONT, CUCKFIELD.

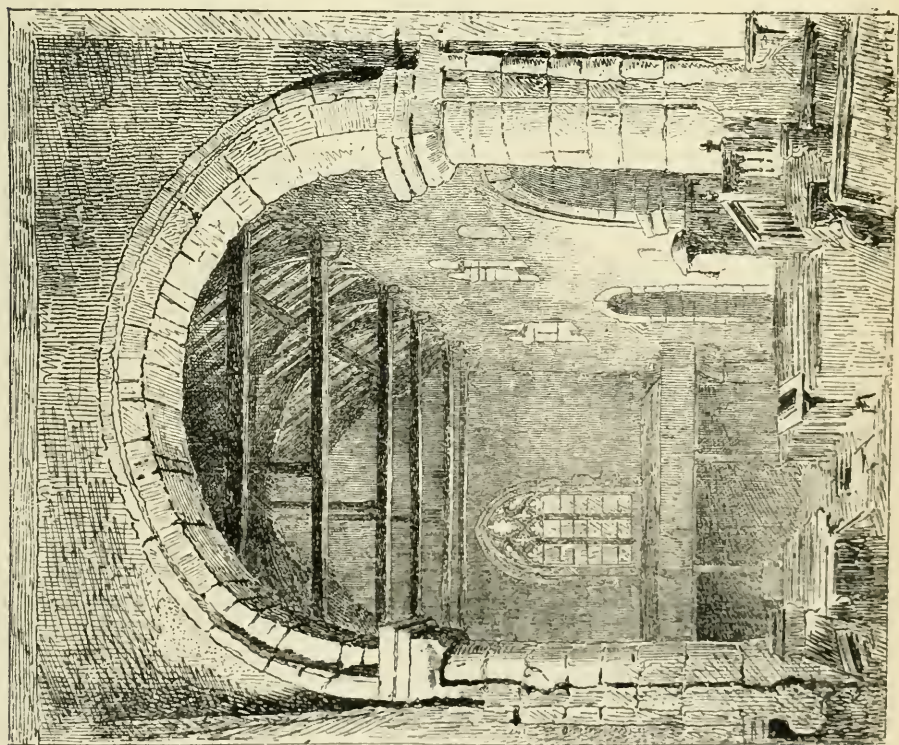






1308 North

BOSHAM.



WORTH.

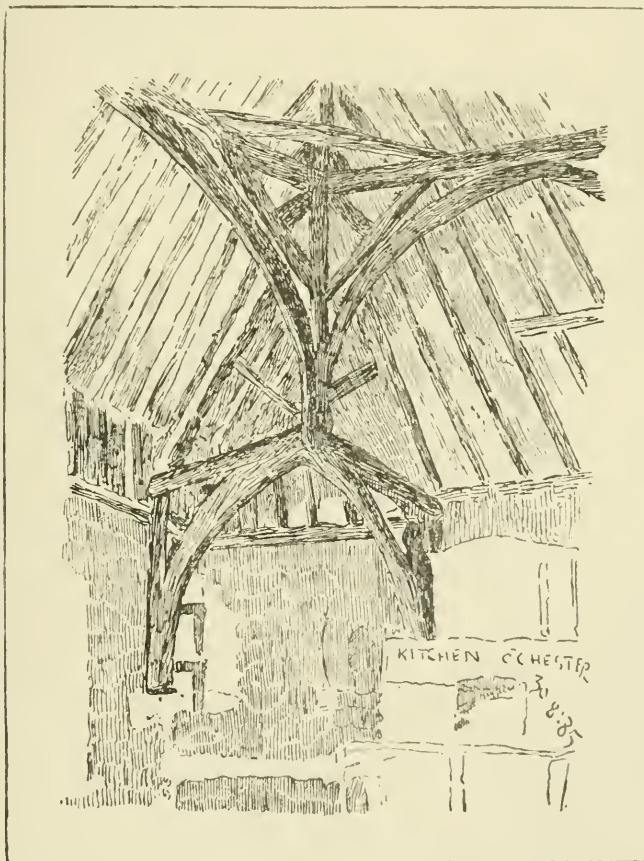




splayed internally and externally from the centre of the openings; and it is recorded that parts of the original oak window-frames were found.

The windows at Worth present a striking contrast to this treatment, where there is no sign of original provision for glass; and the design is altogether that suited to the use of stone, which is the material employed.

The kitchen at Chichester, of which I show a corner, is an interesting example of timber-work of an early period.



Among the many pleasures which attend the meeting of our Association Congresses may be reckoned the kind hospitality which frequently awaits the members, and the local interest taken in the pursuits of the Congress. The fragmentary sketch of the Mayor's house at Lewes may tend to bring such pleasant remembrances to mind.

## SUSSEX SONGS AND MUSIC.

BY F. E. SAWYER, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read 21 Aug. 1886.)

It has often been asserted by foreigners that the English have no national music, and so frequently has this been repeated that many Englishmen have come to believe it is true; but as Mr. Chappell, F.S.A., has pointed out in his work on *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, "it is extraordinary that such a report should have gained credence, for England may safely challenge any nation not only to produce as much, but also to give the same satisfactory proofs of antiquity."<sup>1</sup> There is a proverb of French origin, which was current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to this effect, "*Galli cantant, Angli jubilant, Hispani plangunt, Germani ululant, Itali caprizant*"; or, "the French sing (or pipe), the English carol (rejoice or sing merrily), the Spaniards wail, the Germans howl, and the Italians caper (sing floridly)."

There has been a general belief that Sussex was almost devoid of music, and that what little existed there was in a minor key. However, twelve months' work has resulted in the collection of about sixty songs, and the music of many has also been obtained, every effort being directed to getting songs which have never yet been printed, or which were not derived from printed sources. Many have been gathered line by line and verse by verse. It is desirable here to disclaim any pretension that all the songs collected are absolutely peculiar to Sussex; but all that can be done is to verify their use in the county; and some of those which are known serve for comparison with versions given in the standard works on the subject.

The earliest recorded reference to music in Sussex is in connection with the battle of Hastings (or Senlac), in 1066, when we find that the Saxons, according to Fordun,

<sup>1</sup> Introd., p. vii.

spent the night preceding the battle in singing and drinking: "*Illam noctem Angli totam in cantibus et potibus duxerunt.*" Stories of this kind are often told against the vanquished, and the monastic chroniclers amongst the Normans never hesitated to abuse the Saxons; indeed, a second story of the kind in Sussex is told of the royal troops who spent the night before the battle of Lewes in drinking, singing, and revelry at the Priory. Instead of complaining of our Sussex forefathers for singing before the battle of Hastings, it would be a better view to take, that as they were about to fight in defence of their native land, they had good consciences, which made them free, light-hearted, and able to sing; and even if they did drink some beer, who shall blame them? "Because thou art virtuous, shall there be no more cakes and ale?" The Normans, on the contrary, being plunderers, and including in their ranks the scum of several nations, must have needed to spend the night in prayer. We do not know what songs the Saxons sang over their camp-fires, but perhaps (as Professor Freeman suggests) the rhyme of the mysterious battle of Brunanburh formed one; and the Normans are said to have sung the "*Chanson de Roland.*"

The battle of Lewes, which was fought in 1264, gave rise to a satirical poem describing the conduct of Richard King of the Romans (the brother of Henry III), who was reported to have been offered by the Barons a sum of no less than £30,000 to secure a favourable peace. This song is printed in the *Percy Reliques*,<sup>2</sup> and probably occasioned the first law in our statute books against libels, entitled "Against slanderous reports or tales to cause discord betwixt King and people."<sup>3</sup> In his flight from the battlefield on Mount Harry, towards the Priory of St. Pancras, Richard took refuge in a windmill, and to this the satirist thus refers:

"The King of Alemaigne wende do full wel,  
He saisede the mulne for a castel;  
With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,  
He wende that the sayles were mangonel  
To help Wyndesore.  
Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,  
Triethen shalt thou never more."

This is the earliest Sussex song extant.

<sup>1</sup> Chappell, *Ballad Literature*, etc., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Original in Harl. MS. 2253, § 23.

<sup>3</sup> The Statute of Westminster, the first, cap. 34, anno 3 Edw. I.

Only one separate collection of Sussex songs and music has been published, namely by the Rev. Mr. Broadwood, about 1843; the music being arranged by G. A. Dusart, organist of the Chapel of Ease, Worthing. It consists of sixteen songs, and is of course of great interest, being said to be written down "as then sung by the peasantry of the Weald of Surrey and Sussex."

In considering the songs now collected, it will, perhaps, be convenient to group them under the following heads, viz., ballads, songs connected with old customs, hunting songs, agricultural songs, and musical toasts.

Amongst the *Roxburghe Ballads* we find three early ones connected with Sussex, which perhaps date from the fifteenth century. The first is entitled "A most sweet Song of an English Merchant born at Chichester", and described as sung "to an excellent new tune".<sup>1</sup> It begins thus :

"A rich merchant man (there was)  
That was both grave and wise,  
Did kill a man at Emden Towne  
Through quarrels that did rise;  
Through quarrels that did rise,  
The German bee was dead,  
And for this fact the merchant man  
Was judged to lose his head.

"A sweet thing is love;  
It rules both heart and mind,  
There is no comfort in the world  
To women that are kind."

Preparations are made for his execution, but being very handsome and well dressed, the merchants unsuccessfully offered £10,000 to get him set free. He then gives £100 apiece to the widow of his victim and her two babes. Ten goodly maids next "proffer him for love to beg his life", and he gives each £1,000, but says he cannot love any of them; and he proceeds,—

"And now, dear friends, farewell!  
Sweet England, eake adieu!  
And Chichester, where I was borne,  
Where first this breath I drew."

Another young woman offers to live or die with him, and he is pardoned, marries her, and returns to England. In Mr. Broadwood's collection is a somewhat similar song entitled "The Noble Lord", in which the peer, having killed his squire, is condemned to die, but is pardoned at the request of a poor servant-girl, who dresses up in her mistress's clothes and jewellery as a fine lady, and to whom he is then married. As there are thus two Sussex

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 320.



songs in which the hero is pardoned at the gallows, it is not improbable they commemorate some actual occurrence.

The second Sussex song in the Roxburghe collection is "An excellent Ballad of the Mercer's Son of Midhurst and the Cloathier's Daughter of Guilford",<sup>1</sup> to the tune of "Dainty, come (Thou) to Me." This song has a second part entitled "The old Man's Complaint against his wretched Son who to advance his Marriage did undo Himself." These two songs describe how the mercer's son being madly in love, proposes to the clothier's daughter; but she, a mercenary girl, insists on getting money; whereupon the young man tells her his father will give up his house and land to him on his marriage, and as much money as the bride brings. She then accepts, and the father conveys the house on the understanding that he is to live with his children. In the second part we find the father meets a somewhat similar fate to King Lear. He is neglected, made to wait on his children's guests, and left ill in bed. The marriage not proving fruitful, his unnatural daughter-in-law takes much physic, and injures her health, and after spending a large sum of money she strangles herself in bed. Thirteen years after her husband dies without a will, and the old man inherits the property of both, and is far richer than he was at the first. The Editor of the Roxburghe collections observes that "the story is one that might well have been founded upon an example; but it belongs rather to the local historians of Surrey and Sussex to trace it."

The third song, which, perhaps, possesses most poetical merit, is entitled "The True Mayde of the South, or a rare example of a maide dwelling at Rie, in Sussex, who for the love of a young man in Lestershire went beyond the sea in the habit of a page; and after, to their heart's content, were both married at Magrum, in Germany, and now dwelling at Rye aforesaid." Sung to the tune of, "Come, come, my sweet and bonny One".<sup>2</sup> It commences:

"Within the haven town of Rye,  
That stands in Sussex faire,  
There dwelt a maid whose constance  
Transcendeth all compare;  
This turtle-dove  
Did truly love  
A youth who did appear  
In mind and face  
To be the grace  
And pride of Lester-shire.

"This young man with a noble peere,  
Who lik't his service well,  
Went from his native Lester-shire  
In Sussex for to dwell;  
Where living nye  
The town of Rye,  
Of his good parts,<sup>3</sup>  
Who by deserts  
Was pride of Lester-shire."

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 627.

<sup>3</sup> "Parents" in Roxburghe ed.

This song has been printed in Holloway's *History of Rye*, and also in *The Sussex Garland*.

As a maritime county Sussex might have been expected to furnish several sea-songs; but at present only two have been discovered, and they are found in the Rev. Mr. Broadwood's collection, namely "The Privateer" and "The Fourteenth of July." The latter is a stirring song describing a naval engagement on that day, the music of which we are now able to present :—

### THE FOURTEENTH OF JULY.

The musical score is written in 6/8 time with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). It consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and piano accompaniment (grand staff with treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are printed below the vocal line.

System 1:  
 On the fourteenth of Ju - ly,..... So clear was the  
 \* \*

System 2:  
 sky,..... A migh - ty sail of French ships came

System 3:  
 bear - ing down so high ;..... Came bear - ing down up -

\* These two Chords should be omitted in verses 2, 3, & 4.

on..... us right clear out of France, And the

This system contains the first line of the song. The vocal melody is written in a treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The piano accompaniment consists of two staves, a treble and a bass clef, with chords and moving lines in both hands.

name that we did give her was the lit - tle Fight - ing

This system contains the second line of the song. The vocal melody continues with the same key signature and clef. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with chords and single notes.

Chance. So cheer up my live - ly lads, for it

This system contains the third line of the song. The vocal melody continues. The piano accompaniment features a more active bass line in the third measure, with eighth notes.

ne - ver shall be said, That the sons of bold Bri -

This system contains the fourth line of the song. The vocal melody continues. The piano accompaniment maintains the harmonic structure with chords and moving lines.



"Now, my brave boys,  
In gunshot they have come,  
We'll hoist the English colours,  
And we'll give to them a gun,  
To broadside, to broadside,  
We'll show them gallant sport  
Till the lofty yards and topsails  
Come tumbling overboard.  
So cheer up, etc.

"Now, my brave boys,  
Since we're all safe ashore  
We'll make the lofty alehouses  
And taverns for to roar.  
Here's a health unto King George  
And to all his royal fleet  
We will smother all those Frenchmen  
Whatever we do meet.  
So cheer up, etc."

The doleful ballad of "Lord Bateman" is also sung in Sussex, but is not peculiar, and is a corruption of an older Scotch song about "Lord Beichan." Another curious old ballad is entitled "Brighton Fine Scenes", which has not yet been traced in print, and seems to date from the end of last century or the beginning of the present. It describes, in a very humorous manner, the adventures of a countryman visiting Brighton for the first time. It will now be sung to you:—

#### BRIGHTON FINE SCENES.

"I'm a poor country fellow just out of my teens;  
Resolved I was to see Brighton's fair scenes,  
For I'd heard so much talk of their fine Palace there  
With its bottles and monuments poked in the air:  
And says I, 'You are wonderful witty;  
Surely you exceed London city.  
I wish that my poor sister Kitty  
Could see this fine, beautiful town.'

"So when I got there, how the people did stare  
At my old greasy hat and my long, dangling hair;  
My nose being long, and my chin something thin,  
The people said 'twas where I cracked my nuts in.  
Along in the streets I kept walking,  
One side and the other kept gawking,  
And the people together were talking,  
'There's a countryman just come to town.'

"Then I went to the beach, and was struck with surprise,  
The sight I saw there, how it dazzled my eyes.  
From things called machines, half naked they be,  
And the old women whopping them into the sea.  
One cried out, 'How cold is the water!  
It puts me all in such a tetter.  
I've swallowed so much of salt water,  
I'm so sick, I am sure I shall die,' etc.

The last of the ballads connected with Sussex is that stirring air known as "Brighton Camp; or, The Girl I

left Behind Me." Jefferies' *Gossiping Guide to Oxford*<sup>1</sup> states that the Oxfordshire Militia marched from the city to Brighton Downs during the Napoleon panic in 1793. The well-known martial air of "The Girl I left Behind Me" originated at that period. One verse runs :—

"But now I'm bound to Brighton Camp;  
Kind Heaven, then, pray, guide me!  
And send me home safe back again  
To the girl I left behind me."

Chappell says the song is contained in a MS. in the possession of Dr. Rimbault, dated about 1770. He adds : "It is a march, and is either entitled 'The Girl I left Behind Me', or 'Brighton Camp.' The reference to 'Brighton Camp' gives clue to the word."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Charles Mackay, however, writing to the *Nineteenth Century* for December 1884, says, p. 966, "What a beautiful melody, said Rossini to an Englishman (who agreed with him) is 'The Girl I left Behind Me.' It does honour to Ireland." But Rossini was wrong. That beautiful melody is pure English; published in England long before it was first played in Ireland by the soldiers of William III." It is difficult to explain the origin of the song, but there seems to be some mistake on the part of Dr. Mackay.

#### BRIGHTON CAMP; OR, THE GIRL I LEFT BEHIND ME.

"I'm lonesome since I crossed the hill,  
And o'er the moor and valley,  
Such heavy thoughts my heart do fill  
Since parting with my Sally.  
I seek no more the fine or gay,  
For each does but remind me  
How swiftly passed the hours away  
With the girl I've left behind me.

"Oh, ne'er shall I forget the night,  
The stars were bright above me,  
And gently lent their silv'ry light,  
When first she vowed to love me,  
But now I'm bound to Brighton Camp,  
Kind Heaven, then, pray, guide me!  
And send me safely back again  
To the girl I've left behind me.

"Her golden hair in ringlets fair,  
Her eyes like diamonds shining,  
Her slender waist, with carriage chaste,  
May leave the swan repining.  
Ye gods above, O hear my prayer!  
To my beauteous fair to bind me,  
And send me safely back again  
To the girl I've left behind me.

"The bee shall honey taste no more,  
The dove become a ranger,  
The falling waters cease to roar.  
Ere I shall seek to change her.  
The vows we registered above  
Shall ever cheer and bind me  
In constancy to her I love,  
The girl I've left behind me."

We now arrive at songs connected with popular customs. St. Clement, as everybody knows, is the patron Saint of blacksmiths, and in Sussex his day (October 23) is regularly observed in old fashioned style by them, in firing their anvils, and dressing up a figure of "Old Clem" with a beard and pipe.<sup>3</sup> A curious legend on the subject

<sup>1</sup> 1875 edit., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ballad Literature*, etc., p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Folklore Journal*, vol. ii, p. 321.



was written down by Edmund Young, Esq., M.R.C.S., of Steyning, from the lips of a Sussex blacksmith, then in a deep decline. It runs as follows :—

“On the 17th March, A.D. 871, when good King Alfred ruled this land, he called together all the trades (seven in number), and declared his intention of making that tradesman king over all the trades who could best get on without the help of all the others for the longest period. He proclaimed a banquet, to which he invited a representative from each trade, and made it a condition that each should bring a specimen of his work, with the tools he used in working it. 1st, the blacksmith brought his *hammer* and a horseshoe; 2nd, the tailor brought his *shears* and a new coat; 3rd, the baker, his *peel* and a loaf; 4th, the shoemaker, his *awl* and a new pair of shoes; 5th, the carpenter brought his *saw* and a deal trunk; 6th, the butcher, his *chopper* and a joint; 7th, the mason, his *chisels* and a corner-stone.

“Now the tailor’s coat was of such surpassing beauty of colour and exquisite fashion, that all the guests with one consent declared it a marvel of workmanship, and entirely eclipsing the handicraft of all the others. Upon which the horseshoe, bread, shoes, trunk, meat, and corner-stone were all thrown on one side as unfit for competition. Upon this the tailor was unanimously pronounced by the good King and the general company the fittest to be king of the trades, and was duly installed. This decision made the blacksmith very jealous and angry, and he declared that he would do no more work whilst the tailor was king; so he shut up his forge, and ‘sloped’ no one knew whither.

“Now it came to pass that King Alfred was the first to need the services of the blacksmith, his horse having cast a shoe; but he could gain no admittance. Then came one trade, then another; in fact, all the six, each having broken his tools, thereby preventing him from carrying on his business until he could get them mended. The last of the six who came to grief was the tailor, who had broken his shears, and was compelled to stop working. This all happened on the 23rd November (St. Clement’s Day) in the same year.

“Now King Alfred and all the trades determined to break open the forge, and do the work themselves. So the King began to shoe his horse, the tailor began to mend his shears, and each trade in succession essayed to repair his tools, but all failed. The horse kicked the King, the tailor bruised his fingers, the fire would not burn, and everybody got into everybody’s way. The butcher began to shove the baker, he shoved the shoemaker, who in his turn shoved the carpenter, and the latter revenged himself by shoving the mason, who passed the compliment on to the tailor, until in the general confusion the anvil was knocked over, and exploded. At this juncture in walked St. Clement with the blacksmith on his arm, the latter looking very angry at the wreck of his once tidy forge. St. Clement said nothing, but seemed to enjoy the discomfiture of the King and company.

“At length the King, making a humble bow to St. Clement and the blacksmith, said: ‘I have made a great mistake in allowing my judgment in this important matter to be governed by the gaudy colour and stylish cut of the tailor’s coat; and in justice to the blacksmith, without whom none of us can do, proclaim him king.’

“Immediately all the trades, except the tailor (deposed), begged the

blacksmith to mend their tools. So he shod the King's horse, and obligingly mended the tools of all who asked; but he made and presented to the tailor a new pair of shears. This presentation took place at a feast given by the King to celebrate the event, who, in a neat speech, admitted having been taken in by the tailor's beautiful coat, but now felt the greatest pleasure in announcing that for all time the blacksmith should be regarded as the king of all the trades. 'So let us all drink good health and long life to the jolly blacksmith.'

"The King then proposed that, to restore the harmony, each should sing a song, and called upon the blacksmith to make a beginning, who sang the following:—

### OLD CLEM, THE JOLLY BLACKSMITH.

Here's a health to the jol - ly Blacksmith, the best of all fel-lows, Who

works at his an - vil while the boy blows the bel-lows, For it makes his bright

ham-mer to rise and to fall, Says the Old Cole to the Young Cole, and the

Old Cole of all. Twan-kie dil-lo, twan-kie dil-lo, dil-lo, dil-lo, dil-lo,

dil-lo, With a roar - ing pair of bag - pipes made of the green wil-low.

"If a gentleman calls, his horse for to shoe,  
 He makes no denial to one pot or two;  
 For it makes his bright hammer to rise and to fall,  
 Says the Old Cole to the Young Cole and the Old Cole of all.  
 Chorus.—Twankie dillo, etc.

"Here's a health to the pretty girl, the one he loves best;  
 She kindles a fire all in his own breast,  
 Which makes his bright hammer to rise and to fall,  
 Says the Old Cole to the Young Cole and to the Old Cole of all.  
 Chorus.—Twankie dillo, etc.

"Here's a health to King George and likewise his Queen,  
 And all the Royal Family wherever they're seen;  
 Which makes his bright hammer to rise and to fall,  
 Says the Old Cole to the Young Cole and to the Old Cole of all.  
 Chorus.—Twankie dillo, etc."

The spirited music, which is traditional, and does not occur in Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, was kindly written down by Mr. Samuel Willett of Cuckfield, Sussex, and is confirmed by several Sussex people.

"Whilst this song was being sung, the tailor crawled under the table, and slit up the blacksmith's leather apron, with his new shears, into a regular fringe; and from that day no blacksmith ever wears an apron which is not so ornamented or mutilated."

The following notes on the modern observance of the day are furnished by Mr. Thompson:—

"A supper takes place on the 23rd Nov. annually. I have made inquiries of the oldest smith in my shop. From him I gather that it is customary in some places to personate 'Old Clem.', particularly in the Government dockyards. In many private establishments it has also been the custom for the master to give the smiths a 'way-goose'; that is, a leg of pork with the bone drawn, and the pork stuffed with sage and onions, and roasted. This has been the custom in Bristol, Liverpool, and even in Brighton. In all cases it is usual for the oldest blacksmith to take the chair, and the youngest the vice-chair. The first toast is:—

'Here's to old Vulcan, as bold as a lion,  
 A large shop and no iron,  
 A big hearth and no coal,  
 And a large pair of bellowses full of holes.'

Then follows the song, 'Here's to the Jolly Blacksmith.' The next toast is:—

'True hearts and sound bottoms,  
 Checked shirts and leather aprons.'

This is followed by a song:—

'Tubal Cain, our ancient father,  
 Sought the earth for iron and ore,  
 More precious than the glittering gold,  
 Be it ever so great a store.'

The Chairman, rising, says, 'Gentlemen, I invite you to drink with me the toast of the evening, 'To the memory of Old Clem., and prosperity to all his descendants.'"

At Christmas we have (or formerly had) extended celebrations, commencing with "Stir up Sunday", and ending

with the Epiphany; mummers (locally known as "Tip-teerers"), who still go round, acting a rude play which appears to be a corruption of *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. One version of this was published by me in *Notes and Queries* of December 22, 1883, and another version in *The Folk-Lore Journal* for January 1884.

Wassailing is not yet extinct, and Mr. Broadwood gives music and words of one song in his collection. In West Sussex orchards and beehives are wassailed, and a rhyming song used on the latter occasion has been kindly communicated to me by the Rev. G. A. Clarkson, M.A., Vicar of Amberley, and runs thus :—

" Bees, of Bees of Paradise  
Does the work of Jesus Christ,  
Does the work that no man can.  
God made man, and man made money,  
God made bees, and bees made honey.  
God made great men to plough and to sow,  
And God made little boys to tend the rooks and crows.  
Hurra!"

The Brighton fishermen still observe, before commencing mackerel fishing, a curious custom called "Bending-in" (doubtless corrupted from "Benediction"), and now consisting of a meal of bread and cheese to any child who may be found on the beach; and every night during the mackerel and herring fishing seasons, as the nets are cast over, they repeat, as each barrel (which is attached to every ten nets) goes over,—

" Watch barrel! Watch! Mackerel for to ketch.  
White may they be, like a blossom on the tree.  
God send thousands, one, two, and three.  
Some by the heads, some by the tails.  
God send mackerel, and never fail "

At the last net the master says "Seas all!" for if he said "Last net!" he would never expect to see the nets again. Another version has been supplied by Mr. A. R. Marshall, as used by some Brighton fishermen, the lines being repeated by different men in the following form :—

" Captain.—Now men, hats off!  
God Almighty sends us a blessing, through Jesus Christ. Amen.  
No. 1 man.—Watch barrel! Watch!  
Mackerel for to catch.  
No. 2 man.—White may they be, like a blossom on a tree.  
No. 3 man.—Some by the head,  
No. 4 man.—Some by the tail,  
No. 5 man.—May God send mackerel! May (He) never fail!  
No. 6 man.—Some by the nose,  
No. 7 man.—Some by the fin.  
No. 8 man.—May God send us as many  
As we can lift in!"

Sussex ranks well as a hunting county, and hunting songs are popular. The breezy Downs and Wealden



forests afford ample opportunities for harriers and foxhounds. Amongst the hunting songs we may select for representation the duet :—

### WHEN THE MORN STANDS ON TIPTOE.

"When the morn stands on tiptoe,  
 'Twixt mountain and sky,  
 How sweet 'tis to follow  
 The hounds in full cry.  
 When the bright, sparkling dewdrops  
 The meadows adorn,  
 How sweet 'tis to follow  
 The echoing horn.

"Yet greater the pleasure,  
 When love leads the way,  
 A nymph to pursue  
 That's more bright than the day.  
 Yet those joys are divine,  
 When pursuing we find  
 The nymph that's o'ertaken,  
 The fair one proves kind."

Another is :—

### THE ECHOING HORN.

TENORS.

The e - cho - ing horn sounds well in the morn, And calls the bright

BASSES.

sportsmen a - way ; The cry of the hounds with plea - sure re - sounds, And

great - ly en - li - vens the day,..... And great - ly en - li - vens the day.

"Away to the shaws  
 With hearty, brave noise.  
 Our hounds they do open their throats.  
 The fox, he breaks cover ;  
 Hark forward ! hie over !  
 We'll follow their musical notes.

"With bottle and friend  
 The evening we'll spend,  
 To crown the bright sport of the day.

"Hedge, gate, and stile,  
 Cause us no denial,  
 Our horses they leap them so well.  
 Our fox we will follow.  
 And bravely we'll halloo.  
 What pleasure can hunting excel ?

Our wives will at night  
 Give us great delight,  
 And soothe all our sorrows away."

There are said to be some old Sussex songs which they commence to sing about four or five o'clock in the afternoon, and which are not finished when closing time



comes at ten o'clock at night. One of these is facetiously termed "The Saddlescomb Anthem", but the words have not yet been obtained. They have also a curious version of "Old King Cole", in which imitations of the various instruments and trades are given.

The club-feasts afford scope for country singers, and, no doubt, are virtually a continuation of the old Church festivals and Church ales. A song which is always popular, and excites the sympathies of the benevolent is, "Pity, kind Gentlemen", which you will now hear:—

#### THE BEGGAR-GIRL.

"Over the mountain and over the moor,  
Hungry and barefoot I wander forlorn;  
My father is dead, and my mother is poor,  
And she mourns for the day that will never return.  
Pity, kind gentlemen, friends of humanity,  
Cold blows the wind, and the night's coming on.  
Give me some food for my mother; in charity  
Give me some food, and then I will be gone.

"Call me not lazy-back beggar, and bold enough;  
Fain would I learn both to knit and to sew.  
I've two little brothers at home, when they're old enough,  
They will work hard for the gifts you bestow.  
Pity, kind gentlemen, etc.

"O think while you revel, so careless and free,  
Secure from the wind, and well clothed and fed,  
Should fortune so change it, how hard it would be  
To beg at the door for a morsel of bread.  
Pity, kind gentlemen, etc."

Agricultural songs next claim our attention, and perhaps the most curious amongst these is the unique Sussex whistling song, which narrates how a farmer with a bad wife sells her to the Devil; but she raises such a commotion in Hades that the Devil brings her back, observing,

"I've been a tormentor the whole of my life,  
But never was tormented till I took your wife."

"The Farmer's Old Wife." It is described by Bell, in his *Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry*, as "the only one of the kind he had heard." It is very ancient, and a great favourite. The tune is "Lilliburlero", a stirring air, which contributed not a little towards the great revolution of 1688, and is ascribed by Chappell to the composer Henry Purcell.<sup>1</sup> As one writer observes, "it chased a King out of his dominions." It is sung as follows. The first line of each verse is given as a solo, then the tune is continued by a chorus of whistlers, who whistle that portion of the air which in "Lilliburlero" would be sung to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ballad Literature*, etc., ii, pp. 568, 786.

words "Lilliburlero bullen a la." The songster then proceeds with the tune, and sings the whole of the verse through, after which the strain is resumed and concluded by the whistlers. The striking effect you will now hear :

#### SUSSEX FARMER'S OLD WIFE.

" There was an old farmer in Sussex did dwell, (Whistle.)  
 And he had a bad wife, as many knew well, (Whistle.)  
 Then Satan came to the old man at the plough  
 ' One of your family I must have now.  
 It is not your eldest son that I do crave;  
 But 'tis your old wife, and she I will have.'  
 ' O, welcome, good Satan, with all my heart !  
 I hope you and she will never more part.'  
 Now Satan he got the old wife on his back,  
 And he lugged her along like a pedlar's pack.  
 He trudged away till he came to his gate,  
 Says he, ' Here, take an old Sussex man's mate.'  
 Oh ! then she did kick all the young imps about.  
 Says one to the other, ' Let's try turn her out.'  
 She spied seven devils all dancing in chains;  
 She up with her pattens and knocked out their brains.  
 She knocked old Satan against the wall,  
 ' Let 's try turn her out, or she 'll murder us all,'  
 Now he 's bundled her up on his back amain,  
 And to her old husband he 's took her again.  
 ' I've been a tormentor the whole of my life,  
 But I ne'er was tormented till I took your wife.'"

This song constitutes the "traditionary verses" upon which Burns founded his "Carle of Kellyburn Braes." The poet altered and amended it somewhat ; and when Mrs. Burns was informing Cromek of the alterations her husband had made on various old songs, she said of it, "Robert gae this ane a terrible brushing."<sup>1</sup> Burns makes the Devil

" Swear by the kirk and the bell,  
 He was not in wedlock, thank Heaven, but in Hell !"

Another old song is "The Husbandman and the Servingman", now generally called "The Servantman." One version is given by the late Davies Gilbert, Esq., President of the Royal Society (a Sussex man), in his *Ancient Christmas Carols*, and another by the Rev. Mr. Broadwood in his collection. It is sung to an old tune called "I am the Duke of Norfolk", or "Paul's Steeple." The husbandman and servingman compare notes, and the spirit of independence shown by the former is thoroughly in accordance with our national traditions. He observes, in the eighth verse,—

<sup>1</sup> *Burns' Works* (Nimmo's cheap edition).

"My pleasure 's more, you know,  
To see the crops all grow,  
And thriving all over the land ;  
So therefore I do mean  
To keep ploughing with my team,  
And still remain a husbandman."

Which reminds us ludicrously of the Boatswain in *H.M.S. Pinafore*. You will now hear a few verses :—

#### THE HUSBANDMAN AND THE SERVINGMAN.

##### SERVINGMAN.

"Well met, my brother friend,  
All on the highway riding,  
So simply all alone.  
I pray can you tell me  
What may your calling be?  
Say, are you a Servingman?"

##### HUSBANDMAN.

"Why, why, my brother dear,  
What makes you to inquire  
Of any such thing at my hand?  
But since to know you 'd fain,  
I'll tell you plump and plain,  
I am a downright Husbandman.

##### SERVINGMAN.

"Well, if Husbandman you be,  
Then gang along with me;  
So quickly out of hand  
And in a little space  
I'll help you to a place  
Where you may be a Servingman.

##### HUSBANDMAN.

"Sir, sir, I 'turn you thanks  
For the intelligence  
That I now receive at your hand;  
But you must something show,  
Before that I can go,  
Concerning of a Servingman.

##### SERVINGMAN.

"Why, a Servingman, of pleasure  
[He has] beyond all measure;  
With his hawk in his fist he doth stand;  
The game that he doth keep,  
And the diet he doth eat,  
There is pleasure for the Servingman.

##### HUSBANDMAN.

"My pleasure's more than that,  
To see my oxen fat.  
And a good stack of hay by them stand,  
With my ploughing and my sowing,  
My reaping and my mowing,  
I will keep myself a Husbandman.

##### SERVINGMAN.

"Well, now I must confess  
That what you do express  
Doth give you the uppermost hand,  
Although your labour's painful,  
It is so very gainful,  
I could wish myself a Husbandman.

##### BOTH.

"So now let us all,  
Both great and small,  
Pray for the grain of our land;  
And let us altogether  
Do our best endeavour  
To maintain the Husbandman."

The harvest festivities offer much scope for the songster. Formerly no Sussex man could sing a song with his eyes open ; and this custom has not yet died out, for we lately observed it carefully followed by a worthy alderman of the borough. The preparations for singing are well described by Mr. Thomas Geering of Hailsham, in Sussex, in his book, *Our Parish*,—a work not so well known as it deserves to be. He says :—

"Master Simmonds' preparation never varied. First he had to twist himself away from the table; next, to pull with both his hands his somewhat long and new round frock well above his knees, throw the left leg over the right, stroke his hair straight as he could down over the forehead, put his pipe between the middle fingers of the left hand, give vent to two or three 'ahems' and 'haws', to clear, as he said, the passage of the *wine-pipe*, and off he would go, his strong lungs pulling him through all difficulties of rhyme or rhythm. His memory never failed him, and he was insistent upon the recurring choruses. His eyes were shut, and never once looked out for light. He was then in his glory; his light shone full within him. Good Master Simmonds

long ago now sang his last song. He has passed to his fathers, and the farmhouse-singer of his class has almost died out."

Time forbids our quoting more from Mr. Geering's admirable work, which reminds us strongly of "the gentle Elia."<sup>1</sup>

One great duty on these occasions is to toast "The Master", who is "the founder of the feast". The toast runs thus:—

#### THE MASTER'S HEALTH.

"Here's a health unto our master, the founder of the feast;  
We wish with all our hearts, sir, his soul in Heav'n may rest;  
That all his works may prosper, whate'er he takes in hand,  
For we are all his servants, and all at his command.  
Then drink, boys, drink, and see you do not spill,  
For if you do, you shall drink two;  
It is our master's will."

Having duly toasted the master, it becomes necessary to toast the mistress, who "is a good provider abroad as well as at home". There are two versions of this; and from their allusions to the Pope and the Spanish King, it seems probable they have come down from the time of Queen Elizabeth. We will now hear them. The style is curious and quaint:—

#### THE MISTRESS'S HEALTH.

##### *First Version.*

TENORS.

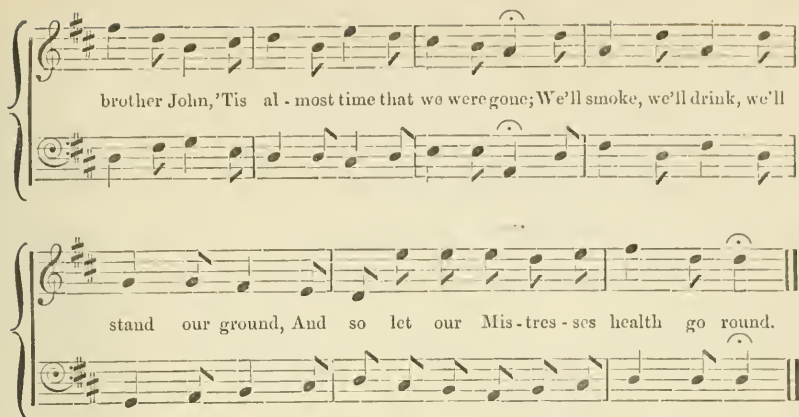
Our Mis-tres-ses health we'll now be-gin In spite of the Pope and the

BASSES.

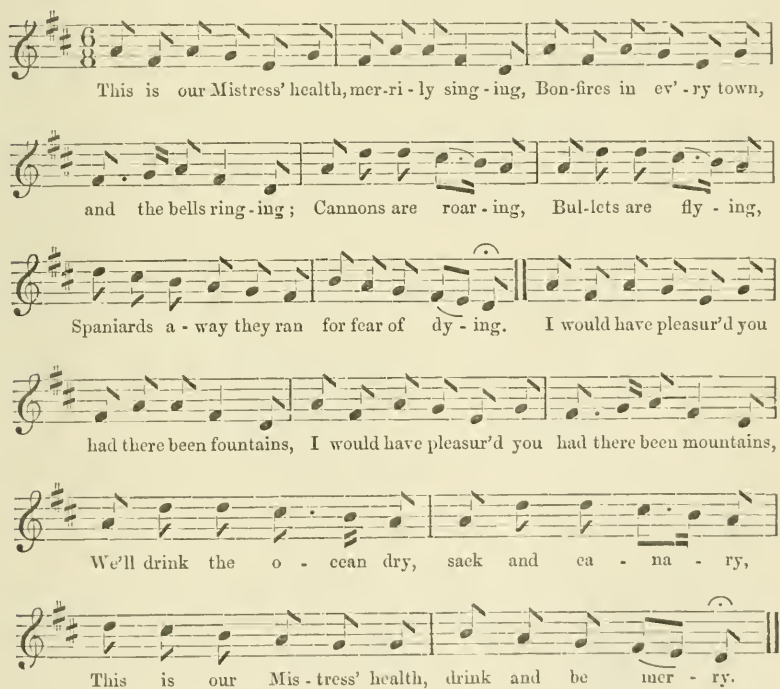
Span-ish King; For she has got gold and sil-ver in store, And

when it is gone she will have some more. So here's to thee, my

<sup>1</sup> Published at *Sussex Advertiser* Office, and by E. H. Baker, Hailsham. P. 139.



brother John, 'Tis al - most time that we were gone; We'll smoke, we'll drink, we'll  
stand our ground, And so let our Mis - tress - ses health go round.

*Second Version.*


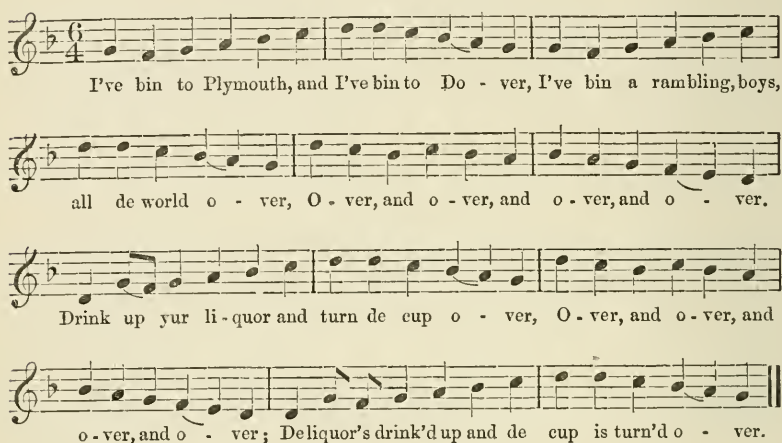
This is our Mistress' health, mer - ri - ly sing - ing, Bon - fires in ev' - ry town,  
and the bells ring - ing; Cannons are roar - ing, Bul - lets are fly - ing,  
Spaniards a - way they ran for fear of dy - ing. I would have pleasur'd you  
had there been fountains, I would have pleasur'd you had there been mountains,  
We'll drink the o - cean dry, sack and ea - na - ry,  
This is our Mis - tress' health, drink and be mer - ry.

The festivities now being in full swing, a succession of old drinking toasts and catches follows, and from these we may select two or three of the most striking. The chairman stands behind the pail of beer with a tall horn



cup in his hand, and fills it from the pail. The man next to him stands up, and holding a hat with both hands by the brim, crown upwards, receives the cup from the chairman on the crown of the hat, not touching it with either hand. He then lifts the cup to his lips by raising the hat, and slowly drinks the contents. As soon as he begins to drink, the chorus strike up this chant:—

I'VE BIN TO PLYMOUTH.



I've bin to Plymouth, and I've bin to Do - ver, I've bin a rambling, boys,  
all de world o - ver, O - ver, and o - ver, and o - ver, and o - ver.  
Drink up yur li- quor and turn de cup o - ver, O - ver, and o - ver, and  
o - ver, and o - ver; Deliquor's drink'd up and de cup is turn'd o - ver.

The man drinking is expected to empty his glass by the end of the fourth line, and then to return the hat to the perpendicular, still holding it by the brim; and to toss the cup into the air, and reversing the hat, to catch the cup in it as it falls. If he fails, the chorus say,

"De liquor 's drink't up, but de cup aint turned over."

and the unhappy (?) man has to go through the ceremony again.<sup>1</sup>

There is another well known toast commencing—

"There was an old woman drawn up in a basket",

sung to the tune of "Lilliburlero", which you have already heard, and which shows the great popularity of this air. It runs thus:—

THERE WAS AN OLD WOMAN.

"There was an old woman drawn up in a basket  
Three or four times as high as the moon;  
And where she was going I never did ask it,  
But in her hand she carried a broom,

<sup>1</sup> *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, xiv, p. 188.

A broom! a broom! a broom! a broom!  
 That grows on yonder hill,  
 And blows with a yellow blossom,  
 Just like a lemon-peel,  
 Just like a lemon-peel, my boys,  
 To mix with our English beer;  
 And you shall drink it all up  
 While we do say Goliero!

Goliero! Goliero! Goliero! Goliero!  
 While we do say Goliero!  
 And you shall drink it all up  
 While we do say Goliero!"

Amongst the forfeit-toasts are some which are relics of the ancient custom of drinking *super negulum*, or "on the nail". One of them is as follows:—

"Here's a health to Tom Brown,  
 Let the glass go round:  
 Drink up your ale without shrinking;  
 Put a print (or pond) on your nail,  
 And kiss the glass' tail,  
 And fill it up again without ceasing."

The drinker must leave just sufficient beer in the glass to cover his finger-nail; but if he leaves too much, or not enough, the penalty is to drink another glass. Ben Jonson alludes to this custom in his play, *The Case is Altered*, thus, "He plays *super negulum* with my liquor of life."<sup>1</sup>

The forfeit-toasts are, of course, designed to promote the consumption of beer, and generally involve the repetition of single words, or a string of words, at a particular moment, the omission to do this making the culprit liable to drink another horn or cup of beer. Amongst these is "The Great Bell of Lincoln", which you will now hear:

#### THE GREAT BELL OF LINCOLN.

"The great bell of Lincoln is rung once a year,  
 And why should we go there and ring  
 Since our bells ring here?  
 The great bell of Lincoln is broke in her frame,  
 And she must be mended  
 'Fore she rings again.  
 New frame, new wheel, new clapper, new strings,  
 And we'll turn the bell over.  
 Hark! Hear how she rings!"

Chorus.—Repeat last three lines.

There are many more good old agricultural songs which are still treasured up, such as "The Jolly Waggoner", "The Woodman", "Maying", "The Farmer's Boy", also a sheep-shearing song. Another song, which is popular with those who delight in good old-fashioned ideas, commences "Ere round the huge Oak". "A sweet Country Life" is a song given by Mr. Broadwood in his collection, and both music and words are striking.

We will conclude with a quaint and pleasing Christmas carol, found in Mr. Broadwood's collection, which seems

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vii, p. 348.

somewhat similar to the "Hitchin Mayer's Song", printed in Bell's *Songs of the Peasantry*, but contains more verses, and is generally superior to the latter. Another version is given in *Christmas Carols New and Old*, No. xxiv,<sup>1</sup> but the words are not nearly so quaint.

THE MOON SHINES BRIGHT.

The moon - shines bright, and the stars give a

light, In a lit - tle time it will be day.

*p*  
The Lord..... our God, He calls up - on us

*Repeat last two lines f.*  
all, And bids us a - wake and pray.

"Awake, awake, good people all,  
Awake, and you shall hear  
How Christ was born  
Upon this morn.  
For the Lord lov'd us so dear.

"So dear, so dear Christ lov'd us,  
And for our sins was slain;  
So pray leave off  
Your wicked wickedness,  
And turn to the Lord again.

<sup>1</sup> Words edited by the Rev. H. R. Bromley, M.A.; music by Dr. Stainer.

"The fields so green, so wondrous green,  
 As green as any leaf,  
 The Lord our God  
 He watereth them  
 With His heavenly dew so sweet.

"The life of man is but a span,  
 His beauty is like any flower.  
 To-day he is strong,  
 To-morrow he is gone,  
 For he fadeth in less than an hour.

"Repent! Repent! good people all;  
 Repent while yet you may,  
 For it is too late  
 For to repent  
 When dead and turned to clay.

"Now my song is done, and I must be gone,  
 No longer can I tarry here;  
 So God bless you all,  
 Both great and small,  
 And send you a Happy New Year."

Lastly, my thanks are due to those who have helped me to form the collection of songs represented to-night, particularly Mr. Samuel Willett (Cuckfield), Mr. Welling, and Mr. Harris, of Brighton; also to my brother, Dr. Frank J. Sawyer, who has arranged and rehearsed the music, but who is unavoidably absent in Germany; and lastly, but certainly not least, to those who have so kindly come forward to assist me in giving the musical illustrations.

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## PRE-NORMAN CROSSES AT HALTON AND HEYSHAM IN LANCASHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 17th February 1886.)

LANCASHIRE, although not so rich in remains belonging to the Saxon period as some of the other northern counties of England, can boast of at least six localities where pre-Norman crosses still exist to bear witness to the early foundation of churches on the sites where they are found. A portion of the head of what must have been, when whole, one of the largest crosses in the country is to be seen outside the east end of the church dedicated to St. Oswald, at Winwick. This has been already illustrated and described in our *Journal*.<sup>1</sup> The cross of Cūnibalth, the son of Cuthbert, with its Runic inscription, found at Lancaster,<sup>2</sup> and now safely deposited in the British Museum, is well known to students of northern antiquities. At Whalley<sup>3</sup> there are three very fine crosses still erect, which although of great interest have never yet received the attention they deserve. It is to be hoped that some member of this Association will take the matter up. In restoring the church at Bolton, portions of the shaft and head of a cross with interlaced work were found, which have been illustrated in the Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society's annual volume.<sup>4</sup>

The sculptured stones which form the subject of the present paper are at Halton and Heysham. Both of these places are easily accessible from Lancaster; Halton being on the banks of the river Lune, four miles to the north-east; and Heysham on the sea-coast, about the same distance to the west.

Halton formed part of the Hundred of Amounderness,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxxvii, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Stephens' *Handbook of Runic Monuments*, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Whitaker's *History of Whalley* (ed. 1876), vol. ii, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> 1879, Pl. 20.



which was given by Athelstan, King of England (A.D. 925-40), to God, St. Peter, and the Church at York, during the prelacy of Bishop Wolfstan. Earl Tosti, who was killed at the battle of Stamford Bridge (Sept. 25, 1066), was lord of the manor of Halton. In *Domesday Book*, Halton or "Hotune" is mentioned amongst the thirty manors, but no church is referred to. The parish of Halton then included part of that of Lancaster, part of Walton, and the whole of Heysham and Bolton-le-Sands. The eastern keep of a Saxon castle, which may have been the seat of Earl Tosti's barony, is to be seen near the church. Even in Roman times Halton must have been a place of some note, for in 1794 an altar belonging to this period was dug up in the churchyard, bearing the inscription,—

DEO  
MART  
SABINVS  
P . P . ET MILIT  
N BARC . SC  
EIIVS PO

It is now built into the walls of one of the rooms at Halton Hall.

"Soon after the enclosure of Halton Moor, in 1797, a countryman, in digging the portion allotted to him, found a silver cup elegantly chased, with two ears like a Roman diota, and filled with more than a thousand pennies of Canute (A.D. 1014-36), bearing the names of different mint-masters, but nearly all the local EOFF; and besides these was a thin piece of gold stamped on one side into a high relief on the other, and bearing the rude figure of a lion. It has besides two small holes, apparently for inserting silk threads, in order to be worn about the neck. The coins were sold to a watchmaker in Lancaster, and dispersed; but the cup and gold ornament were purchased by a gentleman in London, and are believed to be now in the British Museum."<sup>1</sup>

The parish church of Halton is dedicated to St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York (A.D. 669-709). The present building is entirely new, with the exception of the western

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Parish of Halton.* By E. M.

tower, and was erected, in 1877, from the designs of Messrs. Paley and Austin, the well known architects. The church then pulled down was built in the year 1792. The tower, which belongs to the Perpendicular period, contains three bells inscribed as follows:—large bell, “Respice finem Maria, 1597”; middle bell, “Johannes o. p. n. s. c. e.” (in black letter); small bell, “See Petre o. p. n.” (in black letter).

Not far from the church, at the east end, is a spring of pure water, called “St. Wilfrid’s Well”, which has the reputation of curing inflamed eyes.

The pre-Norman sculptured stones consist of the mutilated shaft of a cross still erect in the old base on the south side of the church, four fragments built into the west wall of the south porch, and the top of the shaft of a small cross.

The churchyard cross, in its present state, consists of a shaft, 3 ft. 10 ins. high, 1 ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft. at the bottom, tapering to 1 ft. by 11 ins. at the top; fixed in a base 4 ft. square at the bottom; diminishing by three steps with sloping faces, to 2 ft. 3 ins. square at the top. The height of the steps is 1 ft., 8 ins., and 6 ins. respectively, making altogether 2 ft. 2 ins. as the total height of the base. The material of which this and the other fragments is composed is a yellowish sandstone. In the year 1635 the Rev. Richard Jackson, who was rector at that time, removed the upper part of the cross, so as to convert the remaining portion into the pedestal for a sundial, which purpose it still serves. The inscription on the sundial is, “For St. Wilfrid’s Church, Halton, 1635.” One of the pieces that was cut off was thrown aside amongst the rubbish in the yard at Halton Hall for many years; but after passing through various hands it has been again restored. Another fragment was recently discovered built into the wall of a ruined cottage near the church.

The base of the churchyard cross is devoid of ornament. The subjects sculptured on the shaft are as follow:—

*North Side.*—Divided into four rectangular panels, and part of a fifth, containing—(1), two dragons twisted together; (2), a horse; (3), left blank, probably for an inscription with interlaced work at the side; (4), interlaced work partly defaced.

*South Side*.—Divided into two panels with semicircular tops containing, (1), interlaced work ; (2), conventional foliage.

*East Side*.—Divided into two panels with semicircular heads, the top one being again subdivided into two others containing—(1), perhaps a conventional tree with two birds, but rather difficult to make out ; below, the figure of a man with hands upraised, and some interlaced work in front ; (2), a blacksmith seated at his forge, with a hammer upraised, in the act of striking ; below is what seem to be a pair of double bellows and an anvil ; on the forge a pair of pincers. The top of the panel is filled in with a circular ring and a figure of eight loops interlaced, a sword, a pair of pincers, a hammer, and another object.

*West Side*.—Divided into two panels with semicircular heads, containing—(1), large figure enthroned with two smaller figures seated at each side below ; (2), a cross in the centre, with two figures holding staves raised on a pedestal at either side.

In dealing with the sculpture upon these stones there are three different points to be considered : (1), the general arrangement of the design ; (2), the ornamental features ; (3), the symbolism. As regards the general arrangement, a cable-moulding runs up each of the four angles of the shaft, and the sides are divided up into panels by flat bands about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide, forming a frame round each subject. The system of arranging a design in panels is peculiarly Celtic ; but on the Halton Cross most of the panels have semicircular heads instead of being separated from the next ones by horizontal bands, as is usually the case. The arched top has more the character of the arcading found on Norman fonts and the illuminated tables of canons in the early MSS. A very good example of this method of treatment is to be found on part of the shaft of a cross at Otley in Yorkshire. As far as I know, panels with arched tops do not exist except on pre-Norman stones in England.<sup>1</sup> In the present state of our knowledge of the subject I should hesitate whether to ascribe this peculiarity to difference of time or difference of area.

<sup>1</sup> This, of course, includes the whole of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, which belonged to England at that time.

The ornamental features of the Halton Cross consist of dragons, interlaced work, and conventional foliage. As regards the former, I look upon the dragonesque patterns, which are one of the leading characteristics of early Celtic art, rather as being zoomorphic forms of ornament than as having any special symbolic meaning. The shapes of the beasts are so unlike anything real, and vary so much with the fancy of the designer, that it is difficult to give any intelligible description of their appearance, or to classify them according to locality and age. Some of the zoomorphic patterns seen in the best Celtic and Hiberno-Saxon MSS., such as the Book of Kells<sup>1</sup> and the Lindisfarne Gospels,<sup>2</sup> appear to have been developed out of interlaced work by introducing heads, tails, and claws of animals at the ends of the bands. In the Lombardic MSS.<sup>3</sup> we find initial letters converted into beasts by a somewhat similar process; and in the tenth and eleventh centuries, scrolls of foliage were combined with figures of dragons, birds, archers,<sup>4</sup> etc.

The question of the origin and development of zoomorphism is one of very great interest; but its full discussion would be beyond the scope of the present paper. I will only remark that much light might be thrown on the subject by a thorough examination of the Lombardic MSS., which, besides the predominance of animal forms, possess other features in common with the sculptured stones of the north of England, such as the use of interlaced work, and the peculiar way of representing the symbols of the four Evangelists, referred to later on.

The interlaced patterns which occur on the side of the Halton Cross are those numbered 101 and 135 in my classified list of Celtic ornament published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.<sup>5</sup> Pattern No. 101 is found on sculptured stones at Aberlemno in Forfarshire, and Arthurlee in Renfrewshire; and pattern No. 135 at St. Oswald's and Billingham, in Durham, and at Penally in Pembrokeshire.

<sup>1</sup> Westwood's *Miniatures*, Pl. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Astle's *Origin of Writing*, Pl. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. ii, Pl. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Westwood's *Miniatures*, Pl. 50; border of portrait of St. Dunstan; Boulogne Psalter, Pl. 38; cross-shaft at Bishop Auckland.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. xvii, p. 211.



Conventional foliage such as we see on the south side of the Halton Cross is a characteristic feature of the ornamentation of the stones in the north of England and south of Scotland, but it is not found on the monuments belonging to the purely Celtic area.

Next, as regards the symbolism of the Halton Cross. On the north side we have the figure of a horse without a rider, which, as far as my experience goes, is quite unique.<sup>1</sup> Warriors, or huntsmen on horseback, occur very frequently on early crosses, more especially in Scotland; but horses alone are seldom if ever seen. The view that contemporary events were represented upon Christian monuments at this early period is one wholly unsupported by any evidence whatsoever; and the key to the meaning of the subjects here sculptured must be sought in some spiritual application founded on texts of Scripture. The horse is used as a symbol in the Catacombs at Rome; and according to Martigny,<sup>2</sup> the generally accepted explanation is that it refers to the passages in the writings of St. Paul,<sup>3</sup> where the life of the Christian is compared to a race,—“Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run that ye may obtain.” Most of the texts in the Bible, where horses are mentioned, refer also to the rider, the most remarkable ones being those in the Revelations. M. Didron, in his *Iconographie Chrétienne*,<sup>4</sup> gives an engraving of a fresco in Auxerre Cathedral, in France, where Christ is represented as the King of kings and Lord of lords, seated on a white horse, according to the description in the Apocalypse.<sup>5</sup> Examples of figures on horseback occur on early crosses at Gosforth and Dearham, in Cumberland; Crowle in Lincolnshire; Wycliffe in Yorkshire; Chester-le-Street in Durham; and Bakewell in Derbyshire; Llandough, Glamorganshire; Penmon, Anglesey; Kirk Andreas, Kirk Michael, and Douglas, in the Isle of Man. In Scotland there is hardly a single sculptured stone which has not a representation of one or more horsemen upon

<sup>1</sup> There is an animal on a stone at Kirkby Hill, in Yorkshire, which may possibly be intended for a horse; but I know of no other example.

<sup>2</sup> *Dict. des Ant. Chrét.*, art., “Cheval”, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> I Cor., ix, 24, and II Tim., iv, 7.

<sup>4</sup> P. 315.

<sup>5</sup> xix, 11.



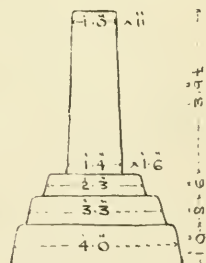
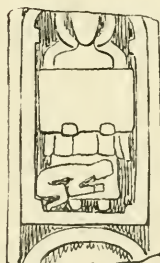
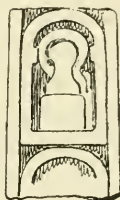
it, generally engaged in the chase. In Ireland, horsemen are generally seen on the bases of the high crosses. It is impossible to believe that in all these cases nothing more is intended beyond the representation of the occupations of every-day life, which would be quite out of place in association with scenes from Scripture, and amidst distinctly Christian symbols.

The subject on the upper panel on the east side of the Halton Cross I am unable to explain, and can only say that it shows a human being standing in front of what may either be a piece of simple interlaced work, or a dragon with a knotted tail. The blacksmith working at his forge, in the lower panel, is, I believe, the only known instance of the kind upon a pre-Norman sculptured stone, and is probably the earliest portrait of an English workman in metal which we possess. The Scandinavian school of English archæologists will probably recognise him to be Wieland or Thor; but I think it is in the highest degree unlikely that heathen legends were ever adapted to Christian purposes, and until some much stronger evidence has been brought forward than the supposed resemblances between the descriptions in the Sagas and the sculptures on the crosses, we must hesitate to accept this view of the case. In order to complete the chain of evidence it is necessary to go further, and show not only that a certain grouping of figures and accessories corresponds more or less with a particular story, but also to produce an illustration from a contemporary MS. or a sculpture where the meaning of the subject is made clear by an inscription. Anything short of this is mere speculation. A picture of a smith will be found in the celebrated Utrecht Psalter and the Eadwine Psalter, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Harleian Psalter, No. 603, in the British Museum, the illuminations of the two latter being copied from the former. The smith at his forge illustrates the verse from the Psalms (xii, 6): "The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times."<sup>1</sup> There are very few texts in the Bible referring to working in metal, the most important being the one in Genesis (iv, 22), describing Tubal Cain as "an

<sup>1</sup> W. de Gray Birch's *Utrecht Psalter*, p. 211.



CROSS SHAFT AT HALTON.



FRAGMENTS AT HALTON

HALTON CROSS.



SHAFT OF CROSS AT HEYSHAM.



instructor of every artificer in brass and iron,"<sup>1</sup> and those in Isaiah (xliv, 12), about the manufacture of idols, "The smith with the tongs both worked in the coals, and fashioned it with hammers, and worketh it with the strength of his arms"; and (liv, 16), "Behold I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work." However, I have never seen any illustrations of these passages from Isaiah in the MSS. of the Old Testament; and the reason that they are passed over is probably because there is nothing in them which has any special reference to the doctrines of Christianity. It is just possible that the blacksmith at Halton belongs to that class of sepulchral memorial which is intended to show the trade of the deceased, such as is found in the Catacombs at Rome, and on the tombstones of the eighteenth century in Scotland. Instances of smiths' tools being carved on early crosses exist at Leeds,<sup>2</sup> Dunfallandy,<sup>3</sup> in Perthshire, and Kirkholm<sup>4</sup> in Wigtonshire. Upon the Rune-inscribed casket<sup>5</sup> in the British Museum a smith is carved, next to the scene of the Adoration of the Magi.<sup>6</sup> Professor Stephens thinks he is intended for Wieland. The subjects sculptured on the west side of the Halton Cross are quite unlike anything I have seen elsewhere. The enthroned figure in the upper panel may possibly be intended for Christ in Glory, but there is no nimbus round the head. The cross in the lower panel is perhaps typical of the Crucifixion (the figure of the Saviour being omitted), with the Virgin and St. John at each side. This is the only one of all the subjects which can with absolute certainty be said to be Christian, but its association with the others makes it probable that they are Christian also.

When I visited Halton there was, lying near the foot of the shaft in the churchyard, a fragment, which has now been deposited in a place of greater safety by the Rev.

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in the MS. of Cædmon's Paraphrase of the Scriptures, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, tenth century. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv, Pl. 79, and in Ælfric's Heptateuch in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. xli, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vol. ii, Pl. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Stephens' *Handbook of Runic Monuments*, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> As also in the Norman font at Ingleton, Yorkshire.

S. Hastings, rector of the parish, to whom I am much indebted for kind assistance in my researches. This fragment is 1 ft. 6 ins. long, by 9 ins. by 11 ins. at the bottom, and tapering to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. at the top. Each side has a complete panel of sculpture and portion of another. The panels have semicircular heads, and contain the symbols of the Four Evangelists, one on each side—the Man of St. Matthew, the Lion of St. Mark, the Calf of St. Luke, and the Eagle of St. John. The symbols are three-quarters length draped human figures, holding books, and having the heads of the two beasts, the man and the bird. They exactly resemble the figures on the cross at Ilkley,<sup>1</sup> in Yorkshire, but instead of being arranged one above the other on the shaft, they are placed all at the same level round the top. There are, at least, two other instances of the symbols of the Evangelists being treated in a similar manner,—on the cross at Sandbach,<sup>2</sup> in Cheshire, surrounding the Crucifixion, and on the very remarkable early sculptured slab at Wirksworth,<sup>3</sup> in Derbyshire, in the four angles of a cross, with the *Agnus Dei* on it. There are also two stones in Scotland, at Kirriemuir<sup>4</sup> and Inchbrayock,<sup>5</sup> in Forfarshire, with figures very much resembling those in question.

I cannot find any instances of the symbols of the Four Evangelists on the crosses of Ireland or Wales, although they occur in almost all the Celtic MSS. of the Gospels of the same period.

It is well known that the symbolic beasts have their origin in the descriptions given in the vision of Ezekiel (i, 10, and x, 14) and the Apocalypse of St. John (iv, 8). They first make their appearance in Christian art in the fifth century, the earliest dated example being on the mosaics of the church of St. Sabina at Rome, executed by the order of St. Selestin I, in A.D. 424. The early fathers, SS. Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, do not agree as to the interpretation of the texts in Ezekiel and the Revelations, but the generally accepted view is that of St. Jerome, founded on the opening verses of the different Gospels. “The first face, that of a man, signifies

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. xl, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.      <sup>3</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xviii, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol. i, Pl. 43.      <sup>5</sup> Ditto, vol. ii, Pl. 2.



Matthew, who begins to write, as of a man, the book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham; the second, Mark, in which is heard the voice of the lion roaring in the desert, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord'; the third, that of the calf, prefigures St. Luke the Evangelist commencing his history from the priest Zechariah; and the fourth the Evangelist, John, who having taken the wings of an eagle, and hastening to loftier things, speaks of God.' Other commentators found their interpretations on the general teaching of the Gospels and the nature of Christ. In many of the early MSS.,<sup>1</sup> and on some monuments,<sup>2</sup> explanatory verses and inscriptions are added to the symbols. Martigny, in his *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes* (p. 297), speaks of the method of representing the symbolic beasts with human bodies as being quite out of the common; it is curious, therefore, that this should be the only type found on the pre-Norman sculptured stones in England. Most of the examples of similar treatment I have been able to find are in MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, chiefly Lombardic.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the stones already described, there are built into the west wall of the south porch of Halton church four other fragments, apparently of the shafts of crosses. One of these has scrolls of foliage similar to that on the Ilkley crosses, and the other three, which seem to be all part of one shaft, are sculptured with figures of saints holding books, and with the nimbus round the head. The angles of the latter are ornamented with a cable moulding, and the figures are enclosed within panels, having semicircular arched tops like those on the churchyard cross at Halton.

Fragment No. 1 measures 1 ft. 9 ins. by 1 ft., and has on it the lower half of one panel and the upper part of another, each containing nimbed saints holding books.

<sup>1</sup> Gospels of Mac Regol, in the Bodleian; Gospels of Fulda Cathedral, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 5463; Westwood's *Miniatures*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Baptistry of Callistus at Cividale in Frioul, Lombardic, eighth century; Ganucci, *Storia del Arte Cristiana*, vol. vi, Pl. 425.

<sup>3</sup> Tenth century MS. in the Bodleian, Oxford, and eighth century French MS. Twining's *Symbols and Emblems of Christian Art*, Pls. 45 and 51. See also, Ed. Fleury, *Manuscrits de Laon*; Cahier and Martin, *Nouveau Mélanges d'Archéologie, Ivoires*, pp. 44 and 112; *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. ii, Pl. 19.

Fragments 2 and 3 appear to fit together, forming two whole panels and a small portion of a third. Each fragment is 2 ft. long, and from 11 ins. to 1 ft. wide. The upper panel encloses a nimbed saint holding a cross in his right hand and a book in his left; the lower one has a nimbed saint holding a very large book, and a small figure is kneeling at his feet, grasping the hem of his garment. It is not unlike the picture of Dunstan kneeling at the feet of St. Gregory in the eleventh century MS. in the British Museum (Claud. A iii<sup>1</sup>).

Heysham, as has been already stated, lies on the opposite side of Lancaster from Halton, about four miles to the west. The village of Lower Heysham is picturesquely situated on a well-wooded rocky promontory, which commands an extensive view of Morecambe Bay and the Cumberland mountains beyond. The churchyard is well kept, and contains some very interesting remains, belonging to the Saxon period. Near the gateway, on the left-hand side as you enter, is the lower part of the shaft of a pre-Norman cross; and a little further on, close to the path leading to the church, is a coped tombstone of the same age. The present church of St. Peter, the nave of which occupies the site of an earlier Saxon building, still preserves its original west doorway, and chancel arch with cabled imposts, the south aisle and chancel being added in the fourteenth century. Not far from the church, to the west, is a flight of steps leading up to a rocky eminence overlooking the sea, on the top of which are the ruins of the ancient Chapel of St. Patrick. At the foot of the steps is a Saxon doorway bearing the following inscription on a brass plate: "This doorway, of undoubted Saxon work, was discovered when the north wall of St. Peter's Church, Heysham, was taken down, in 1864, for the addition of an aisle on that side. It was hidden by a massive buttress, and was 5 ft. from the north-west angle of the wall; its threshold was 2 ft. 5 in. below the surface of the present church. It was re-erected on this spot, under the careful direction of the late Rev. John Royds, Rector, every stone being placed in its original position."

<sup>1</sup> Westwood's *Miniatures*, Pl. 50.

Passing through this archway, and climbing the rude flight of steps which leads to the summit of the rock, the quiet seclusion of the wooded churchyard is left behind, and the visitor is brought suddenly face to face with a wide expanse of sea, and a grand panorama of distant mountains beyond. Around are the crumbling ruins of the little Saxon chapel, dedicated to St. Patrick, recalling the pious zeal of the early Christian missionaries, who chose this rugged spot for their devotions, and cut their last resting-places in the solid rock beneath. Three of the four walls of the building still remain standing, together with a round-headed Saxon doorway. The size of the chapel is 13 ft. 5 ins. long by 9 ft. wide.

The graves, eight in number, are cut in the solid sandstone rock, and shaped like the stone coffins of the thirteenth century, and in some cases having a round hollow for the head to rest in. They are arranged in two groups, six in a row together, and the remaining two a short distance off by themselves. At the end of each grave is a rectangular recess, probably intended to form a socket for a headstone. Dr. Cutts, who has described these rock-graves in his book on Sepulchral Slabs,<sup>1</sup> takes the view that these small square excavations were made to contain the heart or intestines of the deceased.

But now to return to the pre-Norman stones in the churchyard at Heysham. The erect shaft near the entrance gate is fixed in a modern base, measuring 1 ft. 9 ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins. The portion of the shaft which remains is 2 ft. 6 ins. high, and 1 ft. 2 ins. by 10 ins. at the bottom, tapering to 12½ ins. by 9 ins. at the top. The lower 9 ins. of the shaft projects slightly beyond the rest, so as to form a sort of base. The subjects of the sculpture are as follows. The north and south sides are ornamented with elegant scrolls of foliage, and at the base of the north side is a small panel of interlaced work. On the east side is what seems to be intended for the gable end of a Saxon church, with a sloping roof surmounted by two crosses, one on each side, and possibly there may have been a third on the point of the roof, which is, unfortunately, broken away. In the centre of

<sup>1</sup> P. 14. For a woodcut of the graves, see Thos. Johnson's *Handbook of the Valley of the Lune*, p. 109.

the building at the bottom is either a human being draped, or a body swathed in grave-clothes, standing upright beneath a rounded arch. On each side are two small round-headed panels, not unlike those at Bradford-on-Avon Church, drawn with incised lines. At the top are three other windows of the same shape, with three heads looking out from them. With the exception of part of a cross shaft, found at Hoddam,<sup>1</sup> in Dumfriesshire, and now in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, this is the only pre-Norman sculptured stone which presents us with a representation of a Saxon building. The architectural details of the gable end, with a small round-headed window in the centre, at Heysham, are like those on the Hoddam shaft, but in the latter case there is a nimbed saint holding a book in the arch beneath, instead of a corpse. The only Scripture scene which the sculpture at Heysham resembles is the Raising of Lazarus, as shown in the Catacombs at Rome, and in the so-called Augustinian Gospels, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> The Sepulchre of our Lord, in the scene of the Three Maries at the Tomb, is generally made like a small Byzantine church in early Christian art,<sup>3</sup> and the ancient tradition is still followed in late Norman times, as on the font at Lenton,<sup>4</sup> near Nottingham.

On the west side of the Heysham shaft is a round-headed panel, similar to those on the Halton cross, enclosing the nimbed figure of a saint, holding a book. Below is a small rectangular panel of plaitwork, composed of six bands. The angles of the shaft are ornamented with a cable moulding.

The other pre-Norman stone at Heysham, by the side of the path leading to the church, belongs to the class of recumbent sepulchral monuments known as hog-backed or coped tombstones. The area in which such monuments are found is confined to the south of Scotland and the north of England, no instances being known to exist either in Ireland or Wales. There is no specimen to which an absolute date can be assigned ; but a very dimi-

<sup>1</sup> Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol. ii, Pl. 69.

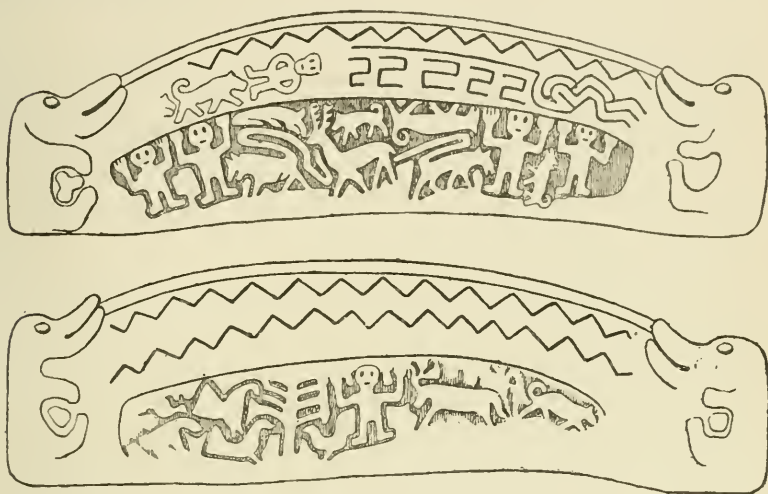
<sup>2</sup> Westwood's *Paleographia Pictoria Sacra*.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Jameson's *Life of Our Lord*, vol. ii, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xviii, p. 393.



native model of a coped tombstone, only 1 ft. long by 5½ ins. broad, bearing a biliteral inscription in Runes and minuscules, was found at Falstone, in Northumberland, which Professor Stephens<sup>1</sup> thinks may be as early as the eighth century. A cast of this stone may be seen in the British Museum.



Coped Tombstone at Heysham.

Most of these monuments appear to belong to the pre-Norman period, as they present forms of interlaced ornament similar to those found on the Celtic crosses; but it is probable that they are not very much earlier than the Conquest, because some of the later ones are decorated with arcading. Dr. J. Anderson says of those at Meikle and Govan, in Scotland, that "in these groups we have, therefore, a series of monuments of a transition character, which link themselves by part of their characteristics to the monuments which are of twelfth century types, and by part of their characteristics to the purely Celtic type of monument, to which no such precise date is assignable."<sup>2</sup> Coped tombstones vary considerably, both as regards shape and the decorative features. All have a central ridge running the whole length of the grave to be covered, with two sloping sides like the roof of a house. The later examples have the top level and the ends plain,

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of Runic Monuments*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Second Series, p. 73.



but the earlier ones are arched "en dos d'âne", or hog-backed in the middle, and terminate at each end in animals' heads. The sloping sides are ornamented with scales to imitate roofing tiles or shingles. Of the Zoomorphic type some of the best specimens are to be seen at Brompton, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire; and of the late type, with arcaded sides, there is a very beautiful example in Peterborough Cathedral, which resembles the Celtic shrines and the tomb of St. Chad, described by Bede<sup>1</sup> as being like a small wooden dwelling-house.

The coped stone at Heysham belongs to the earlier Zoomorphic type, with hog-backed top, animals' heads at each end, and the sides ornamented with elaborate figure-subjects. The dimensions are as follows: 6 ft. 8 ins. long, and 2 ft. high in the centre. The material is a reddish sandstone. The subjects of the sculpture are as follows. The two ends are formed into the likenesses of two beasts, with huge heads, facing towards each other, and grasping the sides of the stone with their paws. The same treatment is to be seen on the stones at Brompton, before mentioned, where the beasts are muzzled bears. At Heysham there are two sloping faces, like the roof of a house, on each side of the central ridge, which is arched in the centre. The two sides which join the sloping faces are vertical. The sloping faces are covered with incised zig-zag lines, to imitate scales or roofing tiles; and on one of them is also the figure of a man, with his arms akimbo, placed horizontally, and a dog. The scene represented on one of the vertical sides is a stag hunt. In the centre is the stag, with two animals having long tails twisted over their backs; on each side and at the two ends are pairs of men with their hands upraised; the remaining four animals seem to be hounds, one of them being drawn upside down. On the other vertical side is a tree with three birds in it, a man with both arms upraised, a stag and a dog.

The peculiar attitude of the figures, with their hands upraised, is to be found on many other sculptured stones<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ecc. Hist.*, bk. iv, ch. iii.

<sup>2</sup> England,—Whalley, Lancashire; Prestbury, Cheshire; Ripon and Masham, Yorkshire. Wales,—Gnoll Castle, Llanhamllech, and Llanfrynach (Westwood's *Lap. Wallia*). Scotland,—Inchcolm coped stone.

of the pre-Norman period, and is the ancient attitude of prayer seen in the paintings in the Catacombs. Hunting scenes with stags occur very frequently on the crosses of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, and there can be little doubt that some spiritual meaning is attached. Dr. J. Anderson tells us, in his *Scotland in Early Christian Times*,<sup>1</sup> that "the chase is repeatedly referred to as a well understood and commonly accepted symbol by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Hippolytus, and St. Isidore. Its significance is explained in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, or Garden of Delights, a MS. of the twelfth century, which perished in the recent siege of Strasburg: "We offer to God the spoils of our chase, when by example or precept we convert the wild beasts, that is to say, wicked men. The chase of the Christian is the conversion of sinners. These are represented by hares, by goats, by wild boars or by stags. The hares signify the incontinent; the goats, the proud; the wild boars, the rich; and the stags, the worldly-wise. These four beasts we smite with four darts, by our example of continence, humility, voluntary poverty, and perfect charity; we pursue them with dogs, when we arouse their fears by the preaching of the word." Dr. Anderson adds, "I have no choice but to accept the concurrent contemporary testimony as to the significance of this figure of the chase, alike in literature and art. No conjectural hypothesis, founded on modern notions of the fitness of things, can set that aside." In the Psalms (xxix, 9; xlii, 1) and the Song of Solomon (ii, 17) the stag is made use of in a spiritual sense to set forth moral principles; and this system of symbolism, founded on the characteristics of the animal world, was followed by the early Christian writers, such as Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Bede, etc., and is to be traced in the bestiaries of mediæval times. The stag is made, in turn, to symbolise Christ, the apostles, the prophets, the faithful; and, in consequence of its timidity and fleetness of foot, it was made to signify the fear of the Christian soul at the approach of danger which might soil its purity, and the quickness with which he should flee from it."<sup>2</sup> Pictures of stags are to be seen in

<sup>1</sup> Second Series, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Martigny's *Dict. des Ant. Chrét.*, article, "Cerf", p. 158.

the Catacombs at Rome,<sup>1</sup> in the Carlovingian MSS. drinking from the mystic fountain,<sup>2</sup> and throughout Christian art generally. The hunter is continually referred to in the bestiaries in a spiritual sense, sometimes as the devil, who ensnares the unwary, in the same way that the hunter captures animals by stealth.<sup>3</sup>

The birds in the tree on the coped stone at Heysham are more like the subjects sculptured over Norman doorways,<sup>4</sup> and the pictures of the trees with doves in the bestiaries,<sup>5</sup> than anything which occurs elsewhere on Celtic stonework.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Sotteranea*, vol. ii, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Gospels of Charlemagne, Imp. Lib. Paris. See Count Bastard's facsimiles.

<sup>3</sup> Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire Divin*, and T. Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science during the Middle Ages*.

<sup>4</sup> At Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somersetshire; Lower Swell, Gloucestershire.

<sup>5</sup> Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, Pl. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Trees hardly ever occur on Celtic stonework; but there are some birds on cross-shafts at Brompton, near Northallerton, and at Dearham in Cumberland.

## Obituary.

SIR PETER STAFFORD CAREY, KNT.

THE Guernsey *Le Bailliage*, of Saturday, 23rd January 1886, contains an excellent biographical notice of our deceased Associate, Sir P. S. Carey, from which we extract the following :—

“La mort vient d'enlever à la vénération de notre communauté l'un de ses citoyens les plus dignes et les plus patriotes, Sir Pierre-Stafford Carey, ancien bailif de Guernesey.

“Tous ceux qui ont eu le privilège de connaître et d'approcher le regretté défunt lui rendent cet hommage d'avoir eu le tact suprême de concilier les intérêts les plus divers et de s'imposer au respect de tous pendant une gestion de près d'un demi-siècle. On peut dire de Sir Carey qu'il n'avait point d'ennemis parmi ses administrés et c'est le plus bel éloge qui puisse être fait d'un homme public, car on sait combien il est difficile de ne froisser personne dans l'exercice de hautes fonctions, qui obligent un chef de la magistrature à se prononcer entre des coteries opposées et à conduire la barque de la justice à travers les écueils toujours renaissants des haines et des compétitions personnelles.

“Sir P. S. Carey avait du reste toutes les qualités pour faire un président de tribunal modèle, un jugement sûr et sain, une connaissance profonde des arcanes de la procédure et de la législation comparée, une subtilité d'appréciation remarquable et, par dessus tout, cette haute impartialité de caractère, ce grand et inné sentiment du devoir qui sont si indispensables aux hommes appelés à trancher par leurs arrêts les contestations humaines.

“Né en 1803 à La Brassière, Guernesey, de Pierre-Martin Carey et de Frances Jane Stafford, le défunt fit de brillantes études littéraires et juridiques ; il fut admis en 1830 au barreau de la métropole anglaise et devint bientôt professeur de droit à l'University Collège de Londres ; en 1836, il fut appelé au poste de recorder de Dartmouth, et de 1838 à 1845, il remplit les fonctions de juge de la Cour de district de Wells. Dans l'entretemps, en 1835, il avait épousé Emily Aubrey, fille de feu le Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Warren.

“Ce fut en 1845 que l'affection de ses concitoyens, sanctionnée par la faveur royale, l'appela au poste de baillif de Guernesey, pour succéder à M. Jean Guille ; et, durant quarante-cinq années, ce vaillant a porté sans faiblir le lourd manteau de président civil et judiciaire de son île

natale. Son érudition était si profonde, ses connaissances si vastes et si variées, il connaissait si bien, sur le bout des doigts, l'histoire de Guernesey, nos vieilles coutumes, nos antique formules de procédure, il possédait une mémoire si robuste, qu'il se jouait avec aisance des difficultés de sa tâche, et plus d'une fois, avec son sens droit, il lui est arrivé de jeter d'un mot la lumière dans le labyrinthe des obscurités de la jurisprudence et de faire surgir la vérité des ténèbres opaques qui semblaient l'envelopper d'un impénétrable voile.

“C'était l'homme des réformes sages et utiles, à l'esprit clairvoyant, raisonneur et mesuré; il combinait l'amour du progrès scientifique avec un respect qui ne s'est jamais démenti pour les vieilles traditions nationales, dont il a été pendant sa longue existence le défenseur le plus ferme et le plus autorisé.

“Tous ceux qui l'ont vu et suivi, soit à la cour, soit aux Etats, rendent un hommage suprême et mérité à l'inébranlabilité de ses convictions. Dans les instant difficiles, il n'écoula que la voix de sa conscience et c'est cette haute probité, demeurée toujours intacte, qui le rendait inattaquable et l'imposait au respect général.

“En dehors de ses fonctions publiques, cependant si multiples et si absorbantes, Sir P.-S. Carey trouvait encore le temps de se livrer à des travaux d'art et d'histoire, car c'était un véritable érudit, et il devint successivement membre de la Société Royale de Géographie et d'un grand nombre de sociétés archéologiques françaises et anglaises.

“En 1836, il fit partie du comité général, présidé par Lord Brougham, de l'Encyclopédie populaire dite *Penny Encyclopædia*, et il publia diverses brochures, notamment un commentaire de l'épître de St. Paul aux Galatéens et une paraphrase de celle aux Grecs.

“Il fut toute sa vie le préconisateur et le défenseur de la langue française, et on n'a pas oublié la part proéminente qu'il prit à la constitution de la Société Guernesiaise. ‘La langue française’, disait-il le 8 Octobre 1867 à l'assemblée constitutive de la Société Guernesiaise, ‘se recommande sous bien des rapports. D'abord l'avantage de parler deux langues est précieux et il serait fâcheux de le perdre; mais c'est là de l'éducation. Il y en a un autre, la conservation de l'individualisme, celui de maintenir la langue pour garder l'originalité du pays; c'est sous ce rapport que la Société est digne de l'attention des patriotes. Ceux qui l'ont fondée ont bien pensé et méritent tout succès.’

“En Octobre 1862, la Reine conféra la chevalerie à l'infatigable lutteur et l'île tout entière applaudit à cette distinction si méritée.

“Le 2 Fév. 1881, Sir S. Carey eut la douleur de perdre la compagne de sa vie; sa santé s'en ressentit: deux ans plus tard, en Mai 1883, il donna sa démission des hautes fonctions sur lesquelles il avait jeté tant d'éclat pendant quarante-cinq années.

“Depuis il vécut dans la retraite, dans sa belle demeure de Candie,



entouré de la filiale sollicitude et des soins touchants des siens. C'est là qu'il est mort Dimanche dernier, doucement, sans effort et sans souffrance, comme la lampe qui s'éteint faute d'huile.

“Puisse l'universelle manifestation de sympathie du peuple guernesiais, qui fait de ce trépas un deuil public, alléger le chagrin de la famille éplorée, en qui se continuent les hautes traditions de vertu et d'honneur qui furent, durant une carrière longue et bien remplie, l'apanage du regretté défunt, auquel on pouvait appliquer, en le voyant si simple de manières, si bon, si affable et si cordial les belles paroles de Lacordaire : ‘Ce qui me touche le plus, c'est de trouver un grand cœur dans une petite maison !’”

### Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Our Forefathers in the Dark Ages, and what we owe to them.* By R. G. BLUNT. (Elliot Stock, 1866.)—A capital work for the young archæologist, and that class of readers who have no opportunity of studying original sources of early history of England. Mr. Blunt contrives to throw considerable light on these dark days in a very readable and attractive manner, and shows conclusively that after all the so-called barbarian is not so bad, either in manners or resources, as he has often been painted. The little work is calculated to spread a correct taste for antiquarian and historical studies among those who would not otherwise be able to pursue a knowledge of the dark days gone before us.

*The Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, in the County of Gloucester.*—In the month of August 1885, the walls of an ancient chapel, situated at Deerhurst, within a short distance of the Severn and of the church, were most unexpectedly brought to light. For many generations past the chapel had formed the centre of a large rambling farm-house, bearing the name of Abbot's Court; and its real character was completely concealed by the buildings in which it was encased, by its own division into several rooms forming two stories, and by an unsparing use of plaster and woodwork. This ancient structure, as now displayed to view, consists of a nave and chancel, separated from each other by a rude chancel-arch. The extreme exterior length of the chapel is 46 ft., its width being 20 ft. 6 ins., the height of its walls 17 feet. That it is of pre-Norman date there can be no doubt whatever: the chancel-arch, an interesting and important feature, affords conclusive evidence on this point. The building on the east side of the chapel is a fine timbered house of the Tudor period. On its west side, the abutting range of building, when standing, was of a less imposing and more modern

character. This has been entirely removed. The property belongs to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who received it a few years back from the capitular body of Westminster. When Edward the Confessor built and most lavishly endowed the Abbey of Westminster, he bestowed upon his new foundation the important manor of Deerhurst. It is upon this estate that the recently discovered chapel stands, and (it may safely be said) has stood certainly ever since the days of the Confessor. Whether or not it be still more ancient, is a question for antiquaries to decide. A general feeling is abroad that so very interesting a relic of antiquity must not be allowed either to perish or to remain any longer neglected and hidden. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have declined to take the building in hand themselves, but have expressed themselves as being quite willing that the work of reparation should be undertaken by a responsible committee of gentlemen of the neighbourhood, should such be formed. Accordingly a committee has been organised for the purpose of effecting the substantial repair of the fabric, and of presenting to view, as far as practicable, its ancient appearance. Sir William V. Guise has kindly allowed the committee to nominate him their president. A specification has been presented by Mr. Thomas Collins of Tewkesbury, which meets with the approbation of the committee; and Mr. Collins is prepared to complete the work for the sum of £120. The committee are now in the position of being able to draw general attention to this object of remarkable antiquarian interest, and to solicit the kind support of the public. Contributions will be gladly received by the Rev. G. Butterworth, Vicar of Deerhurst, Secretary of Committee; or W. Bazeley, Esq., Secretary of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

*Scotland in Pagan Times: The Bronze and Stone Ages. The Rhind Lectures in Archæology for 1882.* By JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886.)—This work, like those published by Mr. Douglas on Scottish Antiquities to which we have drawn our readers' attention from time to time, maintains for the antiquaries of Scotland a foremost position as exponents of that class of critical archæology which is now rapidly taking the place of the desultory and sometimes obscure kind of antiquarianism which we were accustomed to not long ago. Society-work—gathering up detail by detail and fragment by fragment for permanent record—has at length laid up in the store-pages of *Journals* and *Transactions* so many facts pregnant with meaning when classified and contrasted with cognate specimens, that workers like Dr. Anderson, the scientific Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities in Scotland, are able to deduce important theories as to the epoch and manner of use and construction of dwellings, and domestic, ornamental, military, and sepulchral objects

which have been so abundantly harvested in the fertile district of ancient Caledonia. Bronze-age burials illustrated by the excavation of cairns and their contents; principally daggers, urns of rude fabric, but not altogether inartistic form, beads of jet and gold armlets, form the subjects of the first lecture. The urns are not, indeed, dissimilar in any great degree to those exhumed by Canon Greenwell in lower latitudes. But the peculiar ornament for the ear, figured on page 65, is probably a unique specimen of prehistoric goldsmith's work, and certainly of a most remarkable character. The second lecture is devoted to the consideration of circles and setting of standing stones, a class of pagan relics in which Scotland is peculiarly rich. The illustrations of the stone circle at Callernish, at pp. 120, 121, may be compared with those published in our *Journal* by Dr. Thos. Wise, a few years ago; and there are some details of discrepancy, which may perhaps be accounted for by the gradual destruction of the remains, which unfortunately seems inevitable until a really national conservative enthusiasm is aroused to preserve these priceless relics beyond the power of temporary owners to injure them. An ancient evidence of our progenitors like Callernish is surely worth the while of the community of British archæologists at large to convert into public and inalienable property. Probably the freehold of the site could be purchased for less than the market price of a good modern oil-painting. There are many owners of antiquities similar to this who would gladly part with their prehistoric property at a fair value; and a society (of a few hundred members at a small subscription) for purchasing freehold sites, with the view of presenting them to the nation for caretaking in perpetuity, would effect an untold good towards the progressing cause of exact and scientific archæology. The third lecture discusses the implements and weapons of the Bronze Age. Dr. Anderson has gathered a truly marvellous array of swords, spears, axes, chisels, gouges, fishhooks, tools of all kinds, daggers and ornaments, from all parts of his hunting-ground, which yields as plentifully in the remoter Hebrides as it does in the lowland borders contiguous to the English frontier.

Proceeding backwards into more remote ages, as is his wont, the author devotes three lectures to the Stone Age. He first treats of the remarkable chambered cairns of hyperborean Caithness, with crematory sepulture, and the occasional side-chamber, as at Bruan; or the long chamber with crescentic endings or horns, as at Yarhouse, Orniegill, and Garrywhin; a type, curious to say, found in Gloucestershire by Sir J. Maclean, and elsewhere by other investigators. The consideration of the chambered cairns of Argyll and Orkney follows in the next lecture, and into this division enters that grand chamber at Macshowe, which was described so fully in our *Collectanea Archaeologica* some years ago. The pottery and other apparatus which the excavation of these cairns

discloses are of a decidedly different character to their antitypes in the Bronze Age. The series concludes with an attractive dissertation on the weapons and other objects found in these cairns; and it is highly instructive to see (as one easily may by the wealth of illustrations) what a copious variety of implements, for all manner of purposes, human hands have been enabled, by sheer ingenuity, to fashion out of so brittle and untractable a class of material as flint, greenstone, clay-stone, quartzite, jadeite, and aventurine. Here, again, the Scottish relics of the archaic class do not differ widely from those of the same relative period that have been found in other parts of the world. The delicacy of the arrow-heads (pp. 355-60) could probably be matched by French, English, American, or even Oriental examples. But wherever found, they indicate an era in man's primæval development far anterior to the Bronze Age, although, as in that age, the kind of progress was on much the same lines everywhere. This book completes Dr. Anderson's series of four works, embracing a general review of existing materials for the archæology of Scotland. It is equal in every respect to, if not better than, its precedent companions. England, strange as it may seem, still wants such a representative series of works; we would that those who have the time to devote to the work, and the ability to produce such a literary result, were minded to set themselves to the task.

*The Preservation of Ancient Monuments.*—The following circular has recently been sent to all local members of Council of the British Archæological Association. The subject referred to is, however, of so much importance that the attention of the associates is now called to it, in the hope that the advantages of the Act may be made available for the preservation of other monuments in addition to those already scheduled :

“At the Council Meeting of the British Archæological Association, held on June 2nd, a communication from Lieutenant-General Pitt-Rivers, Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Great Britain, was discussed, relating to the advantages afforded by the Ancient Monuments Act, for the permanent preservation of any ancient work which may be scheduled. The Council considered that these advantages are not generally known, and for the purpose of drawing your attention to them, I beg to send you an extract of the clauses bearing on the subject. No surrender of ownership takes place, but the present proprietor pledges himself and his successors not to damage or destroy. By this wise provision, the Act ensures the preservation for all time; the repairs, if needed, being effected by the Government. We shall be much obliged if you will make known these advantages of the Act as much as possible; and if you can induce the owner of any monument to place it under the care of the State in the way indicated, the last of the undersigned will be happy to be placed in communication with the owner. He will gladly render all preliminary information for its accomplishment free of any charge.



"The monuments at present scheduled are all of the class known as Prehistoric, and consist of tumuli, stone circles, camps and earthworks. For the present at least, any others to be added to the existing schedule will have to be of similar class.

"We are, yours faithfully,

"W. DE GRAY BIRCH, } *Hon. Secs.*  
 "E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, }

*The Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882.*

*Paragraph 2.* "The owner of any ancient monument to which this Act applies may, by deed under his hand, constitute the Commissioners of Works in this Act mentioned the guardians of such monument.

"Where the Commissioners of Works have been constituted guardians of a monument they shall thenceforth, until they shall receive notice in writing to the contrary from any succeeding owner not bound by such deed as aforesaid, maintain such monument, and shall, for the purpose of such maintenance, at all reasonable times, by themselves and their workmen, have access to such monument for the purpose of inspecting it, and of bringing such materials and doing such acts and things as may be required for the maintenance thereof.

"The owner of an ancient monument of which the Commissioners of Works are guardians shall, save as in this Act expressly provided, have the same estate, right, title, and interest in and to such monument in all respects as if the Commissioners had not been constituted guardians thereof.

"The expressions 'maintain' and 'maintenance' include the fencing, repairing, cleansing, covering in, or doing any other act or thing which may be required for the purpose of repairing any monument or protecting the same from decay or injury. The cost of maintenance shall, subject to the approval of her Majesty's Treasury, be defrayed from moneys to be provided by Parliament."

*Paragraph 10.* "Her Majesty may, from time to time, by Order in Council, declare that any monument of a like character to the monuments described in the schedule hereto shall be deemed to be an ancient monument to which this Act applies, and thereupon this Act shall apply to such monument in the same manner in all respects as if it had been described in the schedule hereto."

*The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire from the earliest authentically recorded Elections to the Present Time.* By GODFREY R. PARK.—The publication will contain a record of the parliamentary representation of Yorkshire, and an accurate list of all the High Sheriffs of Yorkshire from the appointment of Gulielmus Mallet, the first person who held that ancient and distinguished office, in the year 1069, to the present time. The work, with a copious index of names, will be published by subscription, and only a limited number of copies beyond those subscribed for will be printed. Price to subscribers, 5s.; non-subscribers, 6s. 6d.

*Discovery of old Coins.*—The discovery of treasure in a bronze urn, recently made in Aberdeen, having been brought under the notice of



the authorities, it has now been handed over to the Crown. The coins have been cleared of the verdigris with which they were encrusted, and examined by numismatists, who discovered that they are of various dates, and belong to various countries. English coins of the reigns of Edward I and II predominate; but there are also Scotch coins of the reigns of David and Alexander. In addition there is a considerable number of French coins and ecclesiastical moneys. The coins vary in size. It is calculated that the total number found was from 12,000 to 14,000; but a great many were removed before the finder realised their value. Several of the coins have been analysed. The composition is nearer to that of French coins than of English. The Edward coins have an inscription round the outer edge, on the obverse side, with a clear-cut head wearing an open crown. On the reverse side there is also an inscription, and the coin is marked with the strongly defined cross peculiar to the quarter-money. Most of the money is of this description; but numismatists state that there are several exceedingly rare coins among the number. There are several theories as to the circumstances under which the coins were buried; but from the dates it is conjectured that they were hidden about the time of the battle of Barra, fought near Inverurie, between the forces of Edward of England and Robert Bruce. The spot selected would at that date be on the Aberdeen burgh boundary, near what was known as the "Ghaists' Row", on account of its supposed nightly visitation by ghosts. A bishop's residence stood near the spot; and from the fact that there was no covering on the urn, it is conjectured that it was buried hurriedly during a time of panic. Another theory is that the coin formed part of the money used to pay the English soldiers, and that it was left in the flight which followed the engagement with Bruce at Barra.

*The Atkins Monuments.*—Since Mr. Grover's paper (see p. 272) was sent to press, he has communicated to the Editor the following note:

"Being much interested in the statue of James II by Grinling Gibbons, I took the opportunity of looking at it recently, when, to my astonishment, I saw that it was the work of the same hands that have executed the Roman figures of Henry Atkins at Clapham. The date corresponds, and so does the general style; but the most striking is the treatment of the bare legs, sandals with their ornamental leather work, lions' heads bosses, and folds of overhanging drapery above the instep. And I venture to ask the antiquarian and artistic world to inspect the two statues at the earliest opportunity, and confirm my views, which I feel sure they will do. I made a sketch of the statue found in Whitehall, and then put it beside the photograph of those at Clapham, when the striking resemblance was at once seen.

"In my opinion, although the figure of James II is imposing, it is, in point of real power, and as a work of art, a long way behind Henry Atkins, the pose of which is superb. The only fault is, the legs are rather small, and the absurd peruke spoils the head and otherwise noble face. James II has an olive wreath, which gives his head a better chance.

"Assuming that my surmises are correct (and I think there can be no doubt), then it is only fair to assume that the whole three figures of the children at Clapham, for they are evidently by the same hand, are the work of the famous Grinling Gibbons, and, as such, of national interest."

*Re-Issue and Completion of Chalmers' "Caledonia".* By private subscription. Impression, 400 copies, demy 4to., and 100, royal 4to., on Whatman's paper. Each copy signed and numbered. Uniform with Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.—The welcome accorded to the re-issue of Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, of which we gave a notice at the time, proves that there is a prevalent desire to possess good texts of works that may be regarded as national in their interest and importance. The publisher (Mr. A. Gardner, Paisley) is, therefore, encouraged by the success of Jamieson to venture on a similar undertaking,—the republication of George Chalmers' *Caledonia*.

George Chalmers was a voluminous author; but his great work was the *Caledonia*. It is not too strong a statement to affirm that every important work on Scottish history or topography published since it appeared, refers to Chalmers, and owes not a little to his labour. Entering on a field which had been opened up by Father Innes and John Pinkerton, and freely availing himself of their researches, he discovered many treasures which to them were unknown and inaccessible, and accumulated a store of information which is as complete for Scotland as is the great work of Camden (with which the *Caledonia* has often been compared) for England.

It is intended to issue the work in (probably seven) convenient volumes of 500 pages each. References to the pages of Chalmers are so frequent in the more recent historical and topographical works on Scotland, that it has been decided to retain the original paging.

*Scottish History Society.*—The Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., 1870-1886, have made known to scholars the existence of valuable documents inedited, and in a large measure unexamined, in the archives of public institutions and of private families throughout the country.

Among these inedited papers there are diaries and commonplace-books of biographical and literary interest, household books, farm and

estate accounts, genealogical memoranda, and the like ; all calculated to throw light upon the social life, domestic habits, and modes of thought which have passed away. There is a large quantity of Presbytery and Kirk-Session records and parochial registers, which may be expected to yield rich materials in illustration of the religious and moral condition of the people.

Many of these unique documents, especially those which are in private hands, are liable to daily risk of destruction from a thousand accidents. The importance of preserving and of making better known these best monuments of a nation's history is obvious. Individual effort can, however, do little. The difficulties of obtaining access to distant archives are often insurmountable to the private scholar, while the expenses attending the printing and publication of a volume are enough to deter even the more wealthy possessors of the documents themselves.

It was under these considerations that a suggestion has been made by the Earl of Rosebery that the work of printing and editing the manuscript materials of the popular character above indicated should be undertaken by a Society formed for that purpose. On the 17th of February last a Committee was appointed to take steps for formation of the Scottish History Society, which has for its object *the discovery and the printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland*. The Earl of Rosebery has consented to be the President. The annual subscription will be one guinea, for which each member will receive two volumes, 8vo., of about 320 pages each.

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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

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### ACCOUNT OF THE EXISTING CARTULARIES OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN SUSSEX,

PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE PRIORY OF LEWES.

BY RICHARD SIMS, ESQ.

*(Read at the Brighton Congress, 22 Aug. 1885.)*

IN the paper I shall have the pleasure of reading to you this evening, it is not my intention to speak of monastic records in general, but to confine myself to those which are known by the name of "cartularies" and "rentals"; and these for the county of Sussex only. Of the many forms of records appertaining to religious houses, those here named are the most important; the one showing how and from whence the lands they possessed were obtained, together with their situation, boundaries, etc.; the other, and probably the more important of the two, showing the value of the lands, and the revenues derived from them.

According to Dugdale there were, in olden times, fifty-eight religious houses in this county. Of these, five were abbeys, fourteen were priories, and there were two nunneries; the remaining thirty-seven were chiefly hospitals and colleges. The foundations of these institutions date from the middle of the seventh to the close of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

The records of the greater part of the religious houses in England are entirely lost, and the few that have survived the wear and tear of ages are scattered as to their places of deposit. Of the registers in question, viz.,



cartularies and rentals, so far as this county of Sussex is concerned, seventeen only are found to have been preserved to the present day. These belonged to the Abbeys of Battle, Duford, and Bayham ; and the Priories of Boxgrave, Lewes, and Sele. These valuable MSS. are thus distributed : eight at the British Museum, four at the Public Record Office, and one at each of the following places, viz., Lincoln's Inn Library ; the Chapter-House, Westminster ; and Magdalen College, Oxford.

BATTLE.—Taken in alphabetical order, as likewise in order of date, the Abbey of Battle, or De Bello, claims first attention. Of the records above named, eight are in existence. *Three* of these are in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane ; a like number at the British Museum ; *one* in the Library at Lincoln's Inn ; and *one* at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham.

The volumes at the Record Office are,—*first*, the *Liber Regius*, written upon 110 leaves of parchment, its size being 12 in. by 9, in handwritings of various dates, from the reign of Henry III to that of Edward III. It is in good condition. *Secondly*, the *Rentale*, written in the fifteenth century, upon 292 leaves of vellum, measuring 15 in. by 13, in perfect condition, and in the original binding of oak covered with polished goat-skins. *Thirdly*, another *Rentale*, in fair condition, written upon 149 leaves of parchment, 9 in. by 6, the handwriting being of the time of Henry III and Edward I. These three MSS. were formerly in the Augmentation Office, and are at present numbered 18, 56, and 57.<sup>1</sup>

The MSS. relating to this Monastery, at the British Museum, are,—*first*, a volume described as "*Liber de Situ et Possessionibus Ecclesie Sancti Martini de Bello.*" It belongs to the Cotton Collection (marked Domitian A ii), and is unfortunately imperfect. The writing is a fine specimen of that of the twelfth century, upon 129 leaves of vellum, 8½ in. by 6. *Secondly*, a copy of the cartulary, made by the Rev. William Hayley, of Brightling, in the year 1762, upon paper, from the *original*, at that time in the possession of Sir Whistler Webster, Bart., and now in the Library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham. This copy is marked Add.

<sup>1</sup> For full descriptions see Eighth Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records, pp. 139-46.



MS. 6348. It contains 165 leaves of 4to. size, and is written in a neat hand. *Thirdly*, a cartulary in the Harley Collection, numbered 3586. It consists of 66 leaves of vellum, measuring  $12\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $8\frac{3}{4}$ . 35 leaves are wanting at the commencement.

The cartulary at Lincoln's Inn Library, marked Hale MS. 87, measures 11 in. by  $7\frac{3}{4}$ , and is written in a clear hand upon 98 (formerly 102) leaves of vellum, of the time of Henry III. It is still in the original binding.

Of the cartulary at Thirlestane House I am unable to say more than that it is a folio volume, written upon vellum, in which the grants, etc., extend from the Conquest to the reign of Henry VIII. At the end of the sixteenth century it was in the possession of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague. The vast collection of deeds relating to this Abbey, made by Thorpe, the bookseller, was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the year 1836, and is in the same place of deposit.

BAYHAM.—Next in order comes the Register of the Abbey of Beigham, now Bayham, preserved in the Cotton Collection, and marked Otho, A ii. This MS. suffered greatly in the fire which occurred on the 23rd Oct. 1731, at Ashburnham House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, where the Harley and Royal Collections of MSS. were also deposited previously to their being transferred to Old Montague House, the site of the present British Museum. The origin of the fire has never been clearly ascertained; but tradition says that it came of the carelessness of a servant, who, seeking for candles in an adjoining closet, left a portion of the wicks smouldering; a flame was created, and the wainscoting became ignited. Nearly two hundred and fifty MSS. of the Cotton Collection, some unique, and others of extreme value, were more or less injured. A few of the Harley and Royal MSS. also suffered.

From the date of the fire down to the year 1845 but little was done towards the identification or restoration of the charred MSS.; in fact, so brittle had the vellum been rendered by the action of fire and water, that it was considered imprudent to handle the fossil-like lumps. Nearly all resemblance to books was lost, and, to a casual observer, many had the appearance of burnt bricks or

lumps of bitumen. In the latter year, however, the services of the late Mr. Henry Gough, of Oxford, who had exhibited great skill in the restoration of books more or less injured by damp and fire, were secured by the Trustees of the Museum, and the whole of the injured MSS. were by him rendered readable and fit for use, as is probably well known to many of my audience.

As the mode of restoration adopted by Mr. Gough was stated to be a secret of his own, I hope I may be pardoned, in view of a similar calamity (which the Fates forbid !), if I add to this digression by describing his mode of proceeding. The lumps were cast bodily into pans of clear spring water mixed with a proportion of spirits of wine, until they became as near to a state of pulp as was considered advisable. The leaves were then carefully separated, peeled off, and fastened upon boards by strips of cardboard until dry; openings having been previously made here and there, between the lines of writing, to admit of their being flattened. They were then placed upon sheets of tinted paper of a thickness approaching to that of the vellum, and the form of the leaf being marked out, the centre of the paper was cut away to admit of both sides of the leaf, when fastened down, being seen. The edges were then everywhere secured with thin tracing paper, and the MS. bound for use. The leaves, which were at one time so brittle that they could not be touched without danger to the writing, are now as pliable as they originally were, and the MSS. can be handled without fear of injury.

I was speaking of the cartulary of Bayham Abbey. It now consists of 79 leaves, measuring 8 in. by 6. The writing is of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A transcript of this MS., in the handwriting of Sir Edw. Dering, is also at the British Museum, marked Add. MS. 6037.

BOXGROVE.—The next MS. is the register of the charters of Boxgrove Priory. This is likewise in the Cotton Collection, marked Claudius A vi. It is well written, upon 152 leaves of vellum, in various hands of the thirteenth century, and measures  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 6.

DUREFORD.—The cartulary of Dureford or Durford Priory is also at the National Museum, in the Cotton Collection, marked Vespasian E xxiii. It is well written,

upon 117 leaves of vellum, by various hands, at dates ranging between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its measurement is  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in. by 7.

SELE.—The cartulary of the Priory of Sele is deposited in the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford. It is a 4to. in size, written upon 71 leaves of parchment, four of which are devoted to an index of contents. The MS. is in excellent preservation. The writing, by various hands, is beautifully neat, and extends from the beginning of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century. There are, in all, from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and fifty-five charters, dating from the latter part of the eleventh century. The volume presents a very venerable appearance, being in its original binding of planchettes of oak covered with deer-skin. As the lands were annexed to Magdalen College by Bishop Wainfleet, that circumstance will account for the present possession of the MS. by that institution.

LEWES.—I have purposely left the notice of the Priory of Lewes to the last, since the cartulary contains many interesting charters relating to Brighton and the manor of Atlingworth, which, with your kind permission, I will speak of more in detail.

The records of this Monastery extant are, a fragment of a rental, a cartulary, and a volume of annals (marked Tiberius A x), written by a monk of Lewes, in which are some few facts about the Priory. These MSS. are all in the Cotton Collection aforesaid. In addition, there is a valuable volume of original charters, called a cartulary, by Dugdale, now at the Public Record Office, having been transferred thither from the Chapter House at Westminster. The charters are mounted upon 90 leaves of parchment, and were bound, at some distant period, into a volume, to effect which process all the seals have been cut away!

The earliest of these records, the rental, consists of two leaves of vellum only, forming a portion of what must have been a fine and valuable MS. The writing is exquisite, and of the time of Henry II, if not earlier. The contents probably relate to the Yorkshire possessions of the monks, since the churches of "Chuningesburch" and "Wackefeld" (Coningsburgh and Wakefield) are men-

tioned in the text. This was *not* one of the burnt MSS. I have just spoken of. Let us hope, therefore, that the remaining portion may be still in existence in some unexplored corner, and that it may some day be unearthed, as well as the writings of the "Immortal William", by the Historical MSS. Commission, which has already rendered such good service to literature. This MS. is marked Vespasian E ii, and belongs, as its name indicates, to the Cotton Collection.

And here it may interest some of my hearers to know why the MSS. in this Collection were called after the names of Roman emperors. I have frequently been asked by unreflecting people, whether it was because they were written by or in the time of these potentates; as I have, in like manner, been asked whether the MSS. are called "Cotton" because they are written upon that material. I need not say that neither of these is the case. Sir Robert Cotton, the founder of the magnificent library called after his name, disposed of his priceless treasures in presses, over each of which the bust of a Roman emperor or empress was placed. From this circumstance the MSS. took their name. And as the shelves were marked with the letters of the alphabet, so likewise the MSS. were called "Vespasian A i", "Vesp. A ii", or "Vesp. B i", "Vesp. B ii", etc., according to the position occupied by each volume upon the shelves.

The MSS. in question having been largely quoted by historians of a by-gone day, the authorities of the Museum have caused the old forms of reference to be maintained.

The *second* existing record of Lewes Priory is a cartulary of great size; much larger than any I have hitherto described, for it consists of 326 leaves of vellum, and measures 14 in. in height by 10 in width. It is numbered Cotton MS., Vespasian F xv. The greater portion was written about the first half of the fifteenth century, for we read on f. 9 the following note, in *Latin*, "Robert Auncell, formerly Prior of Llewes, caused me to be made in the year of Our Lord 1444, the 22d of Henry VI."

I will not trespass upon your patience with a dull recital of the names of the numerous places in which the monks of Lewes held lands. A good list may be seen in vol. v of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, p. 1. The charters, which



are rather irregularly recorded as regards dates, are divided into the Rapes of Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings, between folios 1 and 125; and the Rapes of Arundel and Bramber, between folios 126 and 138. Then follow, in succession, grants of lands to the Priory, in the counties of Dorset, Devon, Wilts, Middlesex, Surrey, Hants, Cambridge, Norfolk, and York.

The cartulary proper begins at p. 9, with the foundation charter of William, first Earl Warren, followed by confirmations and grants by his successors; filling, in all, about 78 pages. At folio 107b is a genealogical list of the Countesses of Surrey, commencing with Gundreda, the first Countess, called in the MS. "filia Conquestoris", who died in the year 1085; and ending with Beatrix, daughter of the King of Portugal, wife of Thomas, the last Earl, who died the 13th Nov. 1439.

Upon the next folio, No. 108, is a similar list of the Earls of Surrey, beginning with William de Garenne (the ancient form of Warren), the first Earl, who married Gundreda above mentioned. He was the founder of the Priory in the year 1070. The other Earls follow in succession, as given in Nicolas' "*Synopsis of the Peerage*" down to the year 1397.

I have now arrived at that portion of my paper which will probably prove to be of the greatest interest to local antiquaries, viz., the grants of lands, etc., in Brighton and Atlingworth to the Priory. I may here premise that the ancient name of Brighton appears in these charters under two forms of spelling, viz., "Bristelmestona" and "Brigthelmestona"; and that in like manner Atlingworth is spelt "Athelingworthe", "Adelingthwrthe", "Audelingworde", and "Athelingworda".

The charters, which are in *Latin* (the language in which monastic records were for the most part kept), are twenty in number, divided equally between the places above mentioned. All but five are without date; they are, however, for the most part, of the twelfth century. On the present occasion I purpose reading abridged translations only. The text of each charter will be found, printed *in extenso*, in the Appendix to this paper.

1. The first charter, which is without date, but, from what follows, was made anterior to 1147, is a grant from



John de Chaisneto (or Chesney) to the monks of St. Pancras, of the half-land which his father Ralph held in Bristelmestona at the time of his death, together with all the men belonging to the said land, and with other appurtenances, viz., five virgates of land assised to the same men, Luon, Mattercilda (Matilda), Aluric, Palmarius, Salida, and Marcertilda (Matilda), mother of the said Salida; and four cottars, with the lands which they held, viz., Edward, Martin, Wifwin (Ulfwin), son of Eadsi, and Sama, a widow; also the half of his domain in the same town, so divided that the monks might hold the lower acre, and nearer to the sea, in West de Grancia, with other acres which were divided from the said acre by partition, together with the pasture belonging to the same land; with half the homage of Chetel, dwelling in the same domain; also the son of the said Chetel, Aldwin, and Leuina his daughter. Likewise a certain meadow next Hammes (now Hamsey), called Wildebroc. And for the greater security of the said grant, the said Prior and Convent gave one hundred marks in silver for the relief of the said land, to the Earl of Warren. Witnesses: Roger, *capellanus*; Hugh de Petro Ponte; Robert de Wesneval; Rodbert de Petro Ponte; Rodbert de Frieville; Robert his son; Drogo his brother; Gwido, *Vicecomes*; William his son; William de Petro Ponte; William, *constabularius*; Peter Lovell; Roger de Clera; Edwin, *presbiter* of Hammes; Roger de Sancto Vict[ore]; Rodbert, brother of John; and Ralph de Mundisdier (Montdidier?).

The sixth charter is, with slight alterations in the spelling of the proper names, an exact copy of the preceding.

2. The second charter is a covenant dated the year of the Incarnation, 1147 (12th of King Stephen), between the monks of St. Pancras and John de Chaisneto, to the effect that since the said John had given to them, in free alms, his half-land of Bristelmeston, which his father Ralph held at the time of his decease, he, the said John, now released to them the other half-land for a period of seven years, quit of the census (or tribute) of the said land, viz., for sixty marks in silver, which the monks had previously given him, at his need. And these were the products, viz., five acres and a half sown with wheat, and

six acres and a half with barley, and two acres, one rood, with oats. Witnesses : Hugh de Perrepount, Robert de Frieville, Ralph de Pleiz, Drogo de Frieville, William de Perepount, Wido de Mercecourt, William his son, Edwin, *presbyter* of Hammes, Rodbert de Chaisneto, Roger de Sancto Victore, Ralph de Muntisdier (Montdidier ?), and Hugh, son of Richard.

3. The third charter, undated, but probably made about the year 1170—is a grant by Roger, Prior of Michelham,<sup>1</sup> to William, Prior of Lewes, of a rood and a half of land, with appurtenances, in Bristelmeston, lying between the land of the said Prior of Lewes and the wall of the cemetery of St. Nicholas,<sup>2</sup> and extending itself above the sea (“super mare”), towards the south, in exchange for a rood and a half of land, with appurtenances, in the same town, which sometime belonged to the said Prior of Lewes ; to hold for ever, free of all custom and service. Witnesses : *dominus* Amfrid de Feringes, Henry de Hertfeld, Simon de Herboting, Philip de Kyngeston, Robert de Milston, Roger le Waleys, John de Hyndedale, John de Hore, and others.

4. Charter No. 4 is a grant by *magister* R. de Kant,<sup>3</sup> parson of the church of Brighthelmeston, to John de Brithelmeston, for a perpetual vicarage, the moiety of all fruits and vegetables coming from the said church, with all oblations and obventions of the altar, to hold at an annual rent of ten marks in silver, by name of pension, at three terms of the year, viz., forty shillings at the Purification, forty shillings at Easter, and four marks at the Feast of St. Bartholomew ; also two thousand herrings, payable at the Purification of the Virgin Mary. The said John to bear all episcopal charges except dedication, and to undertake the cost of collecting tithes ; and if the Bishop should, of necessity, impose an aid upon the clergy, the said *magister* R. to pay a moiety, and the said John in like manner. Witnesses : *dominus* Edward,

<sup>1</sup> No mention is made of this Roger by Dugdale, who states, however, that Prior William signed a charter in 1170.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Sawyer suggests that this is, perhaps, the earliest mention of the church of St. Nicholas by name.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sawyer states that this R. de Kant is the first parson of Brighton on record.

*capellanus*, Johelin de Plūtune (Plumpton ?), Jocelin, *decanus* of Iford, William, *clericus*, Vivian, *capellanus*, Simon Warren, Jacob, *mercator*, Ralph de Smythewyk, Robert, *clericus*, Peter, *clericus*, and others.

5. The fifth charter, dated the Vigil of St. Nicholas, 1282, is a sale by Michael de Sevenoke to *frater* John de Tenges,<sup>1</sup> Prior of Lewes, and the Convent there, of Reginald Anyot, his native, of Brighthelmeston, with all his goods and chattels, for forty shillings sterling. Witnesses: *magister* Hugh de Pagrave, Geoffrey de Marisco, then seneschal of the said Prior, Gilbert de Sikelfot, *clericus*, Richard *de pistrino*, John, *janitor*, Peter de Ponte, Gilbert, *clericus*, and others.

6. Charter No. 6 is a copy of No. 1.

7. The seventh charter, also undated, is a confirmation by William Earl Warren of the grant from John de Chaiseneto, already described under No. 1.

8. The next charter, No. 8, made between 1135 and 1151, is a confirmation, by King Stephen, for the repose of the soul of King Henry, his uncle, and for the health of his wife, Matildis, and their children; of a grant by Earl William de Warrene to the monks of Lewes, of lands called "Southouera" (Southover ?), etc.; and of two churches in Bristelmeston, with their appendages;<sup>2</sup> also of half a hide of land in the same town, and the half-land which belonged to John de Chaiseneto, etc.; to hold the same with tithes, mill-service, and rents of money, for ever. No names of witnesses are given.

9. The ninth charter, also undated, is a grant by William de Warrena, Earl of Surrey, to the same monks, of the tithe of his hay and a half-hide of land in Bristelme-stone, which belonged to Wynard and Brithmer de B'mea (Brygthmerynny), with land which he held of Ralph, son of Warin, and, at the prayer of Peter, *vicecomes*, the mill of Mechinges (now Newhaven), with four acres of land.

10. The tenth charter is likewise without date, but was probably made between 1135 and 1148. It is a grant from William de Warrena, son of Reginald de Warrena,

<sup>1</sup> Thyenges, called by Willis, Tirenges or Firenges. He became Principal of a foreign monastery in 1284.

<sup>2</sup> These two churches were probably that of St. Nicholas, and the chantry chapel of St. Bartholomew.

to the said monks of St. Pancras, of two virgates of land, and the third part of the fourth part of a virgate of land, with appurtenances, in the town of Bristelmestone; which lands Ailwin, *poletarius*, and Aluric Asse held. These men he gave to the said monks, with the land aforesaid, with their wives and children, in exchange for a mill in Mechinges (now Newhaven), which the father of the said William gave in alms when he became a monk at Lewes. No names of witnesses are given.

Here the charters relating to Brighton end. Immediately upon these follow a like number relating to the manor of Athelingworth (now Atlingworth). Three only are dated; but, like the foregoing, the others appear to be principally of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

ATLINGWORTH is a manor in the parish of Brighton, lying in different copyhold holdings, north, south, east, and west. It is one of the three principal manors, the others being Brighthelmston, Michelham, and Brighthelmston-Lewes.

1. The first charter is a confirmation by Ralph de Clera, son and heir of Ralph de Clera, to the monks of Lewes, of all the land in "hakelmkeswrd", with appurtenances, in free, pure, and paid alms, which Ralph his father, and Roger his paternal uncle, had previously given to them. Respecting which land a suit had arisen in the King's Bench between the said parties, at which the said Ralph, the son, renounced all claims to the same, in testimony of which he "offered" the said land, by his knife ("*per cultellum meum*"<sup>1</sup>), upon the greater altar of St. Pancras, the day in which Ralph de Plaiz, his father-in-law, was received there to be buried. The said grant and confirmation were likewise affirmed by William, Earl Warren, who affixed his seal in ratification of the same. Witnesses: Robert de Petro Ponte, Hugh de Plaiz, Aucher de Frestanville, Osbert Giffard, Richard de Cumba, William de Bellomonte, Richard de Muchin, Reginald de Barsham, Richer de Resthamtune, *senescal-*

<sup>1</sup> The expression, "*per cultellum meum*", refers to a custom, in early times, of presenting a knife on the occasion of obtaining a grant of land, etc.; which knife was placed, in token, upon the altar of some neighbouring church.



*lus*; Adam de Helles, Robert de Stantun, Richard de Sancto Edmundo, Laurence, *clericus*, Geoffrey, *capellanus*, and others.

2. Charter No. 2 is undated, but may be placed between the years 1163 and 1189. It is a release by Ralph de Clera, to the monks of Lewes, of the whole town of Athelingworthe, with the inhabitants and produce of the land, in perpetual alms, quit of all secular service; which alms King Henry II and Earl Hamelin, the lord of the soil, had conceded and confirmed to them. Witnesses: Hilary, *persona* of Sira, John, *capellanus*, his brother, William Bainard, *miles*, Andrew, *capellanus*, Martin, nephew of the grantor, Joseph, *marescallus* of Lewes, Philip, *carpentarius*, Algar de Neutimber (?), Nicholas, son of Hugh, *cocus*, etc.

3. The third charter is, doubtless, of the same date as the last. It is a notification by the same Ralph de Clera to his bailiffs and all his men, of the preceding release, enjoining them to be obedient to their new lords in all things, without reserve.

4. The next charter is also of the time of King Henry II, viz., the latter half of the twelfth century. By it Ralph de Clera, brother and heir of Roger de Clera, confirms to the said monks of Lewes all the land of Athelingworda, with its appurtenances, which his brother had previously given to them. This he does for the health of Henry King of England (Henry II), and of Ranulf de Glanville, and for the repose of the soul of the above named Roger de Clera, his brother, and of the Lady Berta, wife of the said Ranulf. Witnesses: Ralph de Plaiz, Ralph his son, William de Garena, Robert de Petra Ponte, Bartholomew de Caineto (Caisneto or Chesney), Ralph de Chiltun (Chiltington, near Lewes), Pagan, *ricecomes* of Lewes, Isaac de Lewes, Isaac, *clericus*,<sup>1</sup> Ralph de Clera, William, son of Ralph de Clera, Henry, *dapifer*, William Camb[er]lenge] (Chamberlain?).

5. The next charter, as entered in the cartulary, ought to have preceded the last, it being a grant made by Roger de Clere, son of Roger de Clere, to the monks of Lewes, of all the land of Athelingworth, of which the last charter is a confirmation. The witnesses are—Hugh, *capellanus*

<sup>1</sup> Converted Jews.



of St. Mildred, William Bainard, Bartholomew Albus, Oddo Camberlence, Henry Albus, Gerbod,<sup>1</sup> Roger, *capellanus* of Gilford, *gen. (sic)*, Walter, *cocus*, Hugh de Mel-lers, William Camberlence, Springfis (*sic*).

6. The next charter is dated in the first year after the promotion of *dominus* Baldewyn, Bishop of Worcester, to be Archbishop of Canterbury, which event took place in the year 1184, the 30th year of Henry II. It is a covenant made between the Convent of St. Pancras and Ralph de Clera respecting the land of Athelingworth. By it the said Ralph agrees to release the whole of the said land to the Convent, whilst the Prior and Convent, at the advice of friends upon both sides, regrant the same to him for the term of his life; the said Ralph to pay annually a mark in silver, at Easter, by the name of "rent" ("*nomine firme*"); the land to revert to the said Convent after his death, without let or hindrance by his heirs. Witnesses: Ralph de Plaiz and Ralph his son, William de Garena (Warren), Robert de Petra Ponte, Bartholomew de Keineto, Ralph de Chittitune, Pagan, *vicecomes*, Ysaac de Lewes, Ysaac, *clericus*, Ralph de Clera, William de Clera, Henry, *senescallus*, William Camberlence, and others.

7. Charter No. 7 is without date. It is a notification by Awise de Gurnaio to the Sheriff and county of Sussex, of her recognition of the right of the Prior and Convent of Lewes to all the land of Athelingworth and its appurtenances, by gift of Roger de Clera, her husband. Wherefore she sends Walter de Forda, her seneschal, and John de Benetfeld,<sup>2</sup> her knight, to deliver seizin to them, together with the produce of the land and the homage of the men. No names of witnesses are given.

8. The charter following was probably executed between the years 1190 and 1202. It is a covenant made between the Prior and Convent of Lewes and Hawisa de Gurneio, the widow of Ralph de Clera, by which it is agreed that the said monks shall hold the whole land of Athelingworth, which she received as dower from her husband,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sawyer conjectures this to have been Sherbod, brother of Gundreda, wife of William Earl Warren, and reputed daughter of the Conqueror. She died in 1085.

<sup>2</sup> Benfield, in Hangleton parish.

at an annual rent of £8, to be paid at her manor of Hinglescumb at a period when other rents were paid; the said land at her death to revert to the said monks, as granted to them by Roger de Clera and Ralph his brother, and confirmed by the charters of King Henry of happy memory (Henry II), and of Earl Hamelin, the lord of the soil. And for better security of the charter, the said parties, together with Alianor, the Queen of England, and *dominus* Seffrid (II), Bishop of Chichester, and Earl Hamelin, "fortified" it with their seals.

9. The next charter is dated in the third year of Edward III (1330), and is a covenant made between Isabella Trauchemeir<sup>1</sup> of Hastings, and German le Yonge of Athelingworth, whereby the said Isabella leases to him a messuage, with ten acres of arable land and pasture adjacent, in Athelingworth, for ten years, at an annual rent of 6s. sterling; the said Isabella to sustain the messuage at her own expense, the said German finding straw for the covering of the same.

10. The last charter relating to Athelingworth, No. 10, has likewise a date, viz., the 14th year of Edward II (1321). It is a release by Hugh de Hamme to Isabella, widow of Robert Greuchemer, of the custody of John, son and heir of the said Robert, with the lands and tenements he [Robert] held of the said Hugh, at the time of his death, by knight's service, in Athelingworth, as of the manor of Athelingworth, and remaining in his hands by release of the Prior and Convent of Lewes; to hold until the coming of age of the said heir, together with his marriage. The said Isabella to keep the said heir becomingly, and to maintain the houses and edifices in as good condition, if not better, than she received them. No names of witnesses are given.

Here the deeds relating to Atlingworth end.

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<sup>1</sup> Tranche la Mer, the name of a favourite sea-captain, *temp.* Richard I. So named for his good navigation. This name was spelt "Traukmere" in the sixteenth century, and is still found as Traugmar in and about Brighton.

## APPENDIX.

*(Cott. MS. Vesp. E. ær, fo. 119.)*

## BRYGTHELMESTON.

[No. 1.]

*Rap. de Lewis. Brygthelместon.*

Carta qualiter Johannes de Chaisneto dedit deo et Sancto Paneracio et monachis de Lewes, dimidium terram quam pater suus Radulfus habuit in Bristelmestona, cum omnibus hominibus ad ipsam terram pertinentibus, scilicet, v virgatas terre et iiij<sup>or</sup> cottarios et quoddam pratum juxta hammes, etc.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes de Chaisneto, dono deo et Sancto Paneracio et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, in libera elemosina, pro salute anime mee et pro animabus patris et matris mee, et omnium parentum meorum, dimidium terram quam pater meus Radulfus habuit in Bristelmestona, eo die quo ipse fuit vivus et mortuus; cum omnibus hominibus ad ipsam terram pertinentibus, et cum aliis pertinentiis suis, videlicet v virgatas terre assisas de hominibus istis, Luone, Matteredda,<sup>1</sup> Alurico, Palmario, Salida, et Marcertilda<sup>1</sup> matre ipsius Salide, et iiij<sup>or</sup> cotarios cum terris quas tenent, videlicet, Edwardum, Martinum, Wifwinum,<sup>2</sup> filium Eadsii et Samam viduam, et dimidium domini mei in eadem villa, sic partiti, ut monachi habeant subteriore acram et propinquiorem mari, in west de grancia, cum aliis aeris que ad illam acram divise fuerunt in particione, et cum pastura ad eandem terram pertinente et cum dimidio humagio Chetelli, in ipso dominio manentis. Dono etiam illum filium ipsius Chetelli, Aldwinum, et filiam ejus Leuinam: omnino liberos. Insuper dono illis quoddam pratum juxta hammes, quod vocatur Wildebroc. Hanc supradictam donacionem ego Johannes de Chaisneto adquietabo monachis, de meo proprio, versus homines de omnibus rebus. Et ut hec donacio esset firma et libera et queta imperpetuum, Prior et Conventus dederunt michi C marcas argenti ad relevandum terram versus dominum meum Comitem de Warema. Testibus, Rogero capellano, Hugone de Petro Ponte, Roberto de Wesneual, Rodberto de Petro Ponte, Rodberto de Frievilla, Roberto filio suo, Drogone, fratre ejus, Gwidone, vicecomite, Willelmo filio suo, Willelmo de Petro Ponte, Willelmo constabulo, Petro Louell, Rogero de Clera, Edwino, presbitero, de Hammes, Rogero de Sancto Victore, Rodberto fratre Johannis, Radulfo de Mundisdier'.

[No. 2.]

Convencio et concordia inter monachos de Sancto Paneracio et Johannem de Chaisneto, scilicet, quod idem Johannes concessit eidem monachis, alteram medietatem terre in Bristelmeston.

<sup>1</sup> Matilda.<sup>2</sup> "Wifwinum" in charter No. 6.

tona, tenendum eisdem septem annis, libere, scilicet, pro lx. marcis argenti quas dicti monachi ei dederunt.

Hee est convencio inter monachos de Sancto Pancracio et Johannem de Chaisneto, scilicet, postquam ipse Johannes dederat monachis illis, in libera elemosina, dimidiam terram suam de Bristelmestona quam pater suus Radulfus tenebat eo die quo fuit vivus et mortuus, concessit eisdem monachis alteram medietatem terre illius ad tenendum vij annis, libere et quiete pro censu illius terre, scilicet, pro lx marcis argenti, quas monachi dederunt ei ante, pro necessitate sua, et ipse Johannes adquietabit monachis illam terram de suo proprio, versus omnes homines, de omnibus rebus usque ad predictum terminum. Interim vero monachi habebunt in illa terra quicquid ipse Johannes haberet in ea, si sibi retinisset illam, et hanc convencionem affidavit predictus Johannes ad tenendum. Facta est autem hee convencio anno ab incarnatione domini m<sup>o</sup>c.xlvij<sup>o</sup>. Data die festi Sancti Marci Evangeliste. Hee sunt instrumenta, v acre et dimidium seminate de frumento et vj acre et dimidium de ordeo et ij acre et j roda de avena. Hii sunt testes, Hugo de Perrepount, Rodbertus de Freiville, Radulfus de Pleiz, Drogo de Frieville, Willelmus de Perepount, Wido de Merecurt, Willelmus filius ejus, Edwinus presbiter de Hanmes, Rodbertus de Chaisneto, Rogerus de Sancto Victore, Radulfus de Muntisdier, Hugo filius Ricardi.

[No. 3.]

Carta indentata qualiter Prior et Conventus de Michelham dederunt Priori et Conventui de Lewes, unam rodam terre et dimidiam cum pertinenciis in Bristelmestona in escambium unius rode terre et dimidie in eadem villa que aliquando fuerunt dictorum Prioris et Conventus de Lewes, etc.

Sciant presentes et futuri, quod nos Rogerus, Prior de Michelham et ejusdem loci conventus, dedimus, concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmavimus, Willelmo, Priori de Lewes, et successoribus ejus et ecclesie sue de Lewes, unam rodam terre et dimidiam, cum pertinenciis in Bristelmestona, que jacent inter terram predicti Prioratus de Lewes, et murum cimiterii sancti Michaelis, et extendunt se supra mare versus meridiem, in escambium unius rode terre et dimidie cum pertinenciis in eadem villa que aliquando fuerunt predicti Prioris de Lewes. Habendas et tenendas de nobis et successoribus nostris et predictam ecclesiam nostram de Michelham predicto Priori de Lewes et successoribus suis, et ecclesie sue de Lewes in perpetuum escambium, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, ab omnibus consuetudinibus et serviciis, imperpetuum. Et nos predicti Prior et Conventus de Michelham et successores nostri, predictam rodam terre et dimidiam cum pertinenciis warantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus, predictis Priori de Lewes, et successoribus suis et ecclesie sue de Lewes contra omnes gentes

inperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, presenti carte, sigillum communitatis nostre, fecimus apponi. Hiis testibus, domino Amfrido de Feringes, Henrico de Hertfeld, Simone de Harbeting, Philipo de Kyngestune, Roberto de Milston, Rogero le Waleys, Johanne de Hyndedale, Johanne de Hore, etc.

## [No. 4.]

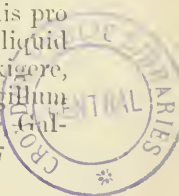
Carta qualiter Magister R. de Kant, persona ecclesie de Brighthelmeston dedit Johanni de Brighthelmeston, in vicariam perpetuam, medietatem omnium frugum et oblacionis altaris, pro decem marcis argenti, per annum.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego magister R. de Kant, persona ecclesie de Brighthelmeston, dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Johanni de Brighthelmeston, in vicariam perpetuam, medietatem omnium frugum et leguminum proveniencium de predicta ecclesia, et omnes oblaciones et obvenciones altaris. Habendas et tenendas tota vita sua. Reddendo michi annuatim x marcas argenti, tanquam persone, nomine pensionis, ad tres terminos, scilicet, ad Purificacionem quadraginta solidos, ad Pentecosten quadraginta solidos, et ad festum Sancti Bartholomei quatuor marcas, et duo millia allecta pacabilia ad Purificacionem Beate Marie. Johannes vero, omnia onera episcopalia sustinebit, preter dedicacionem, et in decimis colligendis totum custum apponet, et si dominus episcopus aliqua necessitate clericis aliquod ausilium imposuerit, ego medietatem acquietabo et me medietatem (*sic*). Et ut hec concessio rata sit et firma, eam sigilli mei munimine roboravi. Hiis testibus, domino Edwardo, capellano, Johelino de Plumtune (?), Jocelino, decano de Iford, Willelmo clerico, Viviano capellano, Simone Warenne, Jacobo mercatore, Radulfo de Smythewyk, Roberto clerico, Petro clerico, et multis aliis.

## [No. 5.]

Carta qualiter Michael de Sevenoke vendidit et quietum clamavit, Priori et Conventui de Lewes, Reginaldum Onyot, nativum suum, de Brighthelmestona, cum sequela sua, pro xl solidis sterlingorum, etc.

Universis presentes literas visuris vel audituris, Michael de Sevenoke salutem. Noveritis me vendidisse et dimisisse, ac omnino quietum clamasse, pro me et heredibus meis, inperpetuum, fratri Johanni de Tenges, Priori Lewes, et ejusdem loci Conventui, Reginaldum Onyot, quondam nativum meum de Brighthelmestona, cum tota sequela sua et catallis suis, pro xl solidis sterlingorum. Habendum predicto Priori et ejusdem loci Conventui, pro me et heredibus meis. Ita nec quod ego nec heredes mei nec aliquis pro me vel pro nobis, in predicto Reginaldo vel ejus sequela, aliquid juris vel clamii, juste, de cetero, poterimus aut debemus exigere, vel calumpniare. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, magistro Hugone de Pgrave, Gal-





frido de Marisco, tunc tempore senescallo domini Prioris, Gilberto Sikelfot, clerico, Ricardo de Pistrino, Johanne Janitore, Petro de Ponte, Gilberto Hendy, clerico, et multis aliis. Date apud Lewes, die sabbati, in vigiliis Sancti Nicholai, anno domini m<sup>o</sup>.cc. octogesimo secundo.

[No. 6.]

A copy of No. 1.

[No. 7.]

Carta qualiter Willelmus, Comes de Warennā, confirmavit donacionem quam Johannes de Chaisneto dedit monachis de Lewes, videlicet, dimidiam terram suam de Bristelmestona cum omnibus hominibus ad eam pertinentibus, etc.

Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Willelmus, Comes de Warennā, concedo in libera elemosina et hac presenti carta mea confirmo, donacionem quam Johannes de Chaisneto dedit deo et Sancto Pancracio et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, videlicet, dimidiam terram suam de Bristelmestona, quam pater suus Radulfus habuit eo die quo ipse fuit vivus et mortuus, cum omnibus hominibus ad ipsam terram pertinentibus, et cum pasturis et aliis pertinenciis suis, et quoddam pratum juxta hammes, quod vocatur Wyldbroke, hanc supradictam donacionem ipse Johannes de Chaisneto adquisivit monachis de suo proprio, versus me et versus omnes alios de omnibus rebus. Testes, etc.

[No. 8.]

Carta qualiter Stephanus, rex Anglie, confirmavit donacionem quam Willelmus, Comes de Warennā, fecit deo et Sancto Pancracio, scilicet, de terra de Southenovera, et in Brighthelmstona ij<sup>as</sup> ecclesias, et in eadem dimidiam hanc terre, etc.

Stephanus, rex Anglorum, omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis tocius Anglie, salutem. Sciatis quod pro anima regis Henrici, avunculi mei, et aliorum predecessorum meorum, regum Anglie, et pro salute anime mee et Matildis regine, uxoris mee, et puerorum meorum, concedo et confirmo illam donacionem, quam Comes Willelmus de Warennā fecit deo et ecclesie Sancti Pancracii de Lewes et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, scilicet, de terra que dicitur Southevera, etc. Et in Bristelmestona duas ecclesias cum appendiciis earum, et in eadem villa dimidiam hanc terre, et dimidiam terram que fuit Johannis de Chaisneto, etc. Quare volo et firmiter precipio, quod ecclesia predicta Sancti Pancracii et monachi ibidem deo servientes, has predictas terras et tenuras et ecclesias et decimas et molendina et redditus denariorum, teneant et in perpetuam elemosinam possideant, ejuscumque donacionis sint de feodo ipsius Comitis, bene et in pace, libere et honorifice, et quiete, in omnibus, sicut Comes Willelmus Warrenne illas eis dedit et concessit, et carta sua confirmavit. Testes, etc.

[No. 9.]

Carta qualiter Willelmus de Warennæ, Comes Surregie dedit deo et Sancto Pancracio et monachis de Lewes, decimam feni sui et dimidiam hidam terre in Bristelmestona, que fuit Winardi et Bryghthmermy, etc.

Noverint presentes et futuri, quod ego Willelmus de Warennæ, Comes Sudreie, dono deo et Sancto Pancracio, pro anima mea et patris mei et matris mee ac fratris mei Raynaldi, decimam feni mei et dimidiam hidam terre apud Bristelmestona, que fuit Wynardi et Brithmermi de Bermea, cum terra quam tenebat de Radulfo filio Warini, et precatu Petri vicecomitis, molendinum de Mechinges cum quatuor acris terre.

[No. 10.]

Carta qualiter Willelmus de Warennæ dedit deo et Sancto Pancracio et monachis de Lewes, ij<sup>as</sup> virgatas terre, etc., in escambium molendini de Meching quod pater meus eis ante donaverat, etc.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Warennæ, filius Reginaldi de Warennæ, concessi et dedi ecclesie Sancti Pancracii de Lewes, et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam, duas virgatas terre et terciam partem quarte partis unius virgate terre, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in villa de Bristelmestona, quas terras Ailwinus Poletarius et Aluricus Asse tenent, hos homines dedi predictis monachis cum prefata terra, cum uxoribus et liberis eorum, in escambium molendini de Mechinges quod pater meus eis elemosinam dedit, quando ipse monachum apud Lewes devenit. Has prefatas terras ego et heredes mei warrantizabimus sepedictis monachis contra omnes homines. Et, de omni seculari servicio et exactione, eos acquietabimus. Ut autem hec concessio et donacio mea firma et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat, eam presenti scripto et sigillo meo confirmavi. Hiis testibus, etc.

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### ATHELINGWORTH.

[No. 1.]

*Rap. de Lewes. Athelingworth.*

Carta qualiter Radulfus de Clera dedit deo et Sancto Pancracio et monachis de Lewes, totam terram de Athelingworthe cum omnibus pertinenciis in perpetuam elemosinam, et qualiter Willelmus, Comes Warenne, eandem donacionem confirmavit, etc.

Radulfus de Clera, filius et heres Radulfi de Clera, omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis, tam presentibus quam futuris, Salutem in domino. Sciatis quod concedo et hac carta mea confirmo, deo et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, totam terram de hakelmkeswrd'

cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, in liberam et puram et solutam elemosinam, quam, videlicet, terram, Radulfus, pater meus, et Rogerus, patruus meus, eidem monasterio ante donaverant. Et de qua, scilicet, terra, in Curia Regis prius inter nos placitum fuit motum, quam eis omnino quietam et solutam clamavi, et omne clamium meum eis remisi. Et in testimonium hujus quiete clamationis et concessionis, ego Radulfus eandem terram optuli, per cultellum meum, super majus altare Sancti Pancracii, eodem die quo Radulfus de Plaiz, pater meus in lege, receptus fuit ibi ad sepeliendum. Et hanc concessionem et confirmationem eis feci, pro salute antecessorum meorum, et mea, et heredum meorum, et uxoris mee, et predicti Radulfi de Plaiz. Et ego et heredes mei warantzabimus et manutenebimus, eisdem monachis, predictam terram de hakelmkeswrd', integre, contra omnes homines et omnes feminas, sicut proprium jus monachorum. Et ne aliquis heredum meorum vel quilibet alius aliquid possit dicere contra cartas vel donacionem antecessorum meorum, vel contra firmacionem meam, vel in aliquo eis resistere, ego Radulfus de Clera sicut verus heres Radulfi de Clera, ad majorem securitatem eorum, dictam terram cum omnibus pertinenciis, eis dono et concedo in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, et eis hac presenti carta confirmo. Et ego Willelmus, Comes Warenne, huic presenti confirmacioni et concessioni predicti Radulfi de Clera, de tota predicta terra de hakelmkeswrd' cum suis pertinenciis, testimonium perhibeo et hoc presenti sigillo meo confirmo. Hiis testibus, Roberto de Petraponte, Hugone de Plaiz, Ancherio de Frestanville, Osberto Giffard, Ricardo de Cumba, Willelmo de Bellomonte, Ricardo de Nuchim, Reginaldo de Barsham, Richero de Restham, tunc senescallo, Adam de Helles, Roberto de Stantun, Ricardo de Sancto Edmundo, Laurencio, clerico, Galfrido, capellano, et multis aliis.

## [No. 2.]

Carta qualiter Radulfus de Clera concessit et quietum clamavit, deo et monachis de Lewes, totam villam de Athelingworthe cum hominibus et instauramento et vestura ejusdem terre in perpetuum elemosinam, etc.

Radulfus de Clera omnibus Sancte Ecclesie filiis, tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et quietam clamavi, et presenti carta mea confirmavi, deo et ecclesie Sancti Pancracii et monachis ejusdem loci, totam villam de Adelingthwrthe cum hominibus et instauramento meo et vestura ejusdem terre in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam, et quietam ab omni servicio seculari. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicti monachi habeant et teneant predictam villam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in perpetuum, sicut liberam elemosinam quam eis concessi pro me et pro omnibus ad me pertinentibus. Hanc elemosinam dominus rex Henricus, et comes Hamelinus, dominus fundi, concesserunt et

cartis suis confirmaverunt. Testibus, Hilario, persona de Sira, Johanne, capellano, fratre ejus, Willelmo Bainardo, milite, Andrea, capellano, Martino, nepote meo, Josepho, marescallo de Lewes, Philippo, carpentario, Algaro de Neutimber (?), Nicholao filio Hugonis coci, etc.

## [No. 3.]

Carta qualiter Radulfus de Clera dedit deo et Sancto Pancracio et monachis de Lewes, totam terram de Athelingworthe, cum toto instauramento et cum tota vestitura ipsius terre, etc.

Radulfus de Clera ballivis et omnibus hominibus suis de Athelingworth, salutem. Sciatis quod ego totam Audelingword' cum toto instauramento, et cum tota vestitura ipsius terre, et cum toto reragio redditus mei, et vos omnes homines meos quietos clamavi deo et Sancto Pancracio et monachis suis. Quare precipio vobis ut amodo sitis intendentes eis, sicut dominis vestris, ex toto sine aliquo retenemento, valete.

## [No. 4.]

Carta qualiter Radulfus de Clera dedit et confirmavit deo et Sancto Pancracio et monachis de Lewes, totam terram de Athelingworth in perpetuam elemosinam quam Rogerus, frater suus, ante donaverat.

Radulfus de Clera, frater et heres Rogeri de Clera, omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis, tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Sciatis quod ego dono et concedo et presenti carta mea confirmo, deo et ecclesie Sancti Pancracii de Lewes, et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, totam terram de Athelingworda cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, quam, videlicet, terram, Rogerus, frater meus, eisdem monachis in elemosinam ante donaverat. Et hanc donacionem et confirmacionem, ego feci eis pro salute domini nostri Henrici, regis Anglie, et mea, et Ranulfi de Glanvilla, et pro anima prenominati Rogeri de Clera, fratris mei, et pro anima domine Berte, uxoris predicti Randulfi de Glanvilla. Ego itaque et heredes mei, garantizabimus et manutenebimus eisdem monachis, sepedictam terram de Athelingworthe, erga omnes homines, sicut liberam et quietam elemosinam, corpus eciam meum dono eisdem loco Sancti Pancracii, et fratribus meis monachis de Lewes, ibidem sepeliendum. Testibus, Radulfo de Plaiz, Radulfo, filio ejus, Willelmo de Garenna, Roberto de Petraponte, Bartholomeo de Caineto, Radulfo de Chiltetune, Pagano, vicecomite de Lewes, Isaac de Lewes, Isaac, clerico, Radulfo de Clera, Willelmo filio Radulfi de Clera, Henrico, dapifero, Willelmo Camber[linge].

## [No. 5.]

Carta qualiter Rogerus de Clera, filius Rogeri de Clera, dedit deo et Sancto Pancracio, et monachis de Lewes, in puram et per-

petuam elemosinam, totam terram de Athelingworthe cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, etc.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus de Clere, filius Rogeri de Clere, dedi et concessi deo et Sancto Pancracio de Lewes, et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, totam terram meam de Athelingworthe, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, pro salute domini mei Henrici, regis Anglie, et pro salute anime mee, et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum, in perpetuam elemosinam, ita libere et quiete tenendam, sicut ego et antecessores mei unquam melius tenuimus et liberius. Et hanc tenuram eis presenti carta mea confirmavi. Hiis testibus, Hugone capellano de Sancta Mildreda, Willelmo Binarde, Bartholomeo Albo, Oddone Camberlunge, Henrico Albo, Gerbod, Rogero, capellano de Gildford, gen' [generoso?], Waltero, coco, Hugone de Mellers, Willelmo Camberlunge, Springfis [*sic*].

[No. 6.]

Carta qualiter Radulfus de Clera quietum clamavit et confirmavit ecclesie Sancti Pancracii, totam terram de Athelingworth, et qualiter Prior et Conventus de Lewes concesserunt dictam terram predicto Radulfo, ad terminum vite sue, pro j marca argenti per annum.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod hec convencio facta est et presenti cirographo confirmata, inter Conventum Sancti Pancracii de Lewes et Radulfum de Clera, super terra de Athelingworth, scilicet, quod Radulfus de Clera quietam clamavit et carta sua confirmavit, ecclesie Sancti Pancracii, totam terram de Athelingworth cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, Prior vero et Conventus Sancti Pancracii, mediante consilio amicorum utriusque partis, concesserunt predicto Radulfo de Clera, prefatam terram de Athelingworthe. Habendam et tenendam de eis tantummodo in vita sua, reddendo inde eis, annuatim, unam marcam argenti ad Pascham, sub nomine firme, mortuo vero nominato Radulfo, terra de Athelingworthe libera et quieta et soluta, absque omni reclamacione heredum vel alicujus hominis, ad ecclesiam Sancti Pancracii revertetur. Hanc convencionem sepenominatus Radulfus, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, juravit se fideliter servaturum, et Prior et Conventus hoc idem ex parte sua in verbo veritatis tenendum concesserunt. Hec convencio facta fuit a<sup>o</sup> primo post promocionem domini Baldewyni, Wigornensis, in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, in die decollacionis S. Johannis Baptiste, coram subscriptis testibus, Radulfo de Plaiz et Radulfo filio ejus, Willelmo de Garennia, Roberto de Petraponte, Bartholomeo de Kaineto, Radulfo de Chiltintune, Pagano, vicecomite, Ysaac de Lewes, Ysaac, clerico, Radulfo de Clera, Willelmo de Clera, Henrico, senescalco, Willelmo Camberlunge, et multis aliis.



## [No. 7.]

Carta qualiter Awisia recognovit Priori et Conventui de Lewes, jus suum quod habebat de tota terra de Athelingworthe, ex donacione Rogeri de Clera, mariti sui, etc.

Viccomiti et Comitatu Sussex, Awis de Gurnaio, salutem. Sciat is me recognovisse pro deo et salute anime mee et omnium ad me pertinencium, Priori et Conventui et Ecclesie Sancti Pancracii de Lewes, jus suum quod habebant de tota terra de Athelingworth, et omnibus pertinenciis suis, ex donacione Rogeri de Clera, mariti mei. Quapropter mitto Waltherum de Forda, senescallum meum, et Johannem de Benetfeld, militem meum, ad faciendum eis, coram vobis, plenariam saisinam de tota predicta terra, cum instauratione et humagiis hominum, et omnibus rebus et pertinenciis suis. Habendam et tenendam, sicut cirographum inter me et predictos monachos factum testatur.

## [No. 8.]

Carta qualiter Hawisia concessit Priori et Conventui de Lewes, totam terram de Athelingworthe, quamdiu ipsa vixerit, pro octo libris eis annuatim reddendis, et quod post mortem dicte Hawisie, dicta terra de Athelingworthe, dictis Priori et Conventui, libere remaneat.

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris, quod hec convencio facta est inter Priorem et Conventum Sancti Pancracii de Lewes, et Hawisam de Gurneio, scilicet, quod jam dicta Hawisa concessit predictis monachis totam terram de Athelingworth, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, quam in dotem accepit a Rogero de Clera. Habendam et tenendam, de ipsa, quoad vixerit, pro viij libris ei annuatim reddendis, et apud manerium suum de Hinglescumba fideliter deferendis, ad terminos quibus homines ejusdem ville ei reddere consueverant. Si vero monachi in solucione defecerint, ipsa Hawisa, sine contradiccione, se ad suum jus recognoscet, cum autem ipsa in fata concesserit, predicta terra de Athelingworth monachis Sancti Pancracii, libera et quieta in perpetuum remanebit, sicut Rogerus de Clera et Radulfus, frater ejus, et heres ipsius, eis dederunt. Et tam ipsi quam dominus rex felicis memorie, Henricus secundus, et Comes Hamelinus, dominus fundi, suis cartis confirmaverunt. Ut igitur hec convencio rata sit et stabilis, utraque pars suis eam sigillis, et domina regina Anglie, Alianora, et dominus S[effridus] Cicestrensis Episcopus, et dominus Comes Hamelinus, firmiter munierunt.

## [No. 9.]

Convencio facta inter Isabellam Trauchemeyr, de Hastings, et Germanum le Yonge, de Athelingworthe, scilicet, quod dicta Isabella tradidit ad firmam dicto Germano, j mesuagium cum decem acris terre, etc.

Hee est convencio facta inter Isabellam Trauchemeir, de Hastings, ex parte una, et Germanum le Yonge, de Athelingworth, et

parte altera, videlicet, quod dicta Isabella tradidit et ad firmam dimisit, dicto Germano, unum mesuagium cum x acris terre arrabilis, cum omni pastura adjacente in Athelingworthe. Habendum et tenendum dictum mesuagium et dictam terram, cum omni pastura adjacente et cum omnibus aliis suis pertinenciis, dicto Germano, heredibus et assignatis suis, de dicta Isabella, heredibus et assignatis suis, ad terminum decem annorum, bene et plenarie completorum. Reddendo inde annuatim, capitalibus dominis feodi illius, redditus et servicia et debita, inde, de jure, consueta, et dicte Isabelle heredibus et assignatis suis, sex solidos sterlingorum annuatim, ad duos anni terminos per equales porciones, videlicet, medietatem in festo S. Thome Apostoli, et aliam medietatem in festo S. Johannis Baptiste. Et dicta Isabella dictum mesuagium, sumptibus suis propriis, statu competenti sustentabit, predicto termino durante, preter quod dictus Germanus inveniet stramen pro coopertura dicti mesuagii. Et dicta Isabella, heredes et assignati sui, dictum mesuagium et dictas decem acras terre, cum pastura adjacente, cum omnibus aliis eorum pertinenciis, in forma ut predicatur et durante termino dictorum decem annorum, contra omnes gentes warantizabunt et defendent. In cujus rei testimonium, partes antedicte sigilla sua huic presenti scripto indentato alternatim apposuerunt. Data apud Athelingworde in festo S. Michaelis a<sup>o</sup> regni regis Edwardi tercii, a conquestu tercio.

[No. 10.]

Carta qualiter Hugo de Hamme concessit Isabelle que fuit uxor Roberti Trauchemere, custodiam Johannis, filii dicti Roberti, cum terris et tenementis que idem Robertus de eo tenuit, per servitium militare in Athelingworth, in manibus dicti Hugonis ex dimissione Prioris et Conventus de Lewes.

Noverint universi, quod ego Hugo de Hamme concessi et dimisi Isabelle, que fuit uxor Roberti Greuchemer, custodiam Johannis, filii et heredis predicti Roberti, simul cum terris et tenementis que idem Robertus de me tenuit, die quo obiit, per servitium militare, in Athelingworthe, ut de manerio de Athelingworthe, in manu mea existentibus, ex dimissione Prioris et Conventus de Lewes. Habendam et tenendam dictam custodiam, usque ad legitimam etatem ipsius heredis, simul cum maritaggio ejusdem heredis. Faciendo annuatim michi et assignatis meis, redditum prius inde debitum, quamdiu dictum manerium in manu mea seu assignatorum meorum esse contigerit. Et eadem Isabella, dictum heredem, prout decet, sustentabit, et eciam domos et edificia custodiet et manutenebit, in adeo bono statu sicut ea recepit, vel meliori. Et ego dictus Hugo, dictam custodiam versus dictos Priorem et Conventum, usque ad legitimam heredis etatem, predicte Isabelle sive suis assignatis, per presentes warantizabo. In cujus rei testimonium has literas meas, sigillo meo signatas, eidem Isabelle fieri feci patentes. Data apud Athelingworthe, die Veneris proximo ante festum Purificacionis beate Marie, a<sup>o</sup> regni regis Edwardi, filii Regis Edwardi, quarto decimo.

## SOME FLOWERS OF CHIVALRY AND FIELDS OF RUE.

1458-1471. 1642-1651.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(*Read at Great Malvern, 26 August 1881.*)

IT is not required of historical parallels that they should be drawn with mathematical exactness. I will, therefore, venture to compare together the two periods of English history comprised within the dates 1458-1471 and 1642-1651, subject to considerable deviations in tracing the parallel lines. Our proximity here to some of the fields of action must be my reason for selecting a subject so familiar to all, yet which will be justified in the repetition by reason of the noble feelings and chivalric qualities of the English people which were called forth by these internecine struggles.

The first period has been brought home to us, with all the charms of dramatic effect, by the plays of our great poet in the two Parts of *Henry IV*, one of *Henry V*, and three Parts of *Henry VI*; each Part being in itself a five-act drama, complete both as to the action and catastrophe.<sup>1</sup> The second period has been written upon by authors whose name is legion, and whose contradictions are as numerous as their names.

I shall freely avail myself of the writings of many Associates of this Society, and of original documents in our *Journal* during its career of thirty-eight years. One of the earliest of these Associates, the late Mr. Thomas Wright, edited, in the Rolls Series, the poems and songs of the times extending from Edward III to Richard III; and these, together with the *Paston Letters*,<sup>2</sup> give an

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, in his new work, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (1881), particularly draws attention to the extraordinary popularity of the three Parts of *Henry VI* when first brought out in 1592.

<sup>2</sup> The late edition, edited by J. Gairdner, 3 vols., 1872.

insight into contemporary events of the fifteenth century which cannot be obtained from the chroniclers.

Let us take up our first position at the great reconciliation of the 25th March 1458,<sup>1</sup> when Yorkists and Lancastrians went in procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, to forget their differences before the altar, three short years after the battle at St. Alban's, the first of those twelve bitter engagements in the Wars of the Roses, which cost the country several hundred thousand combatants, and eighty princes of royal blood.

The wars in France had ceased. Caen and Rouen had been given up, together with all the territory gained in France by Edward III and his successors, Calais alone excepted. The treaty which ceded the French provinces to France was completed in 1444 by William de la Pole, first Duke of Suffolk, and ratified by the marriage of the young King Henry VI with Margaret of Anjou.<sup>2</sup> England sighed over her warriors slain for so poor a result, and Suffolk was made a victim. His rough execution, when taken from on board the ship *Nicholas*, in the Channel, is described, with its horrid details, in No. 93 of the *Paston Letters*. The body was buried in the chancel of Wingfield Church, Suffolk, visited by this Association in 1879. Hall quaintly says that "he was taken upon the sea, and made shorter by the hedde." A squib of the period says :

"Pray for this Duke's soule, that it might come to blis,  
And let never suyche another come after this."

The caricaturist handled him severely under the nickname of "Jack Napes"; but parties ran high, and scandals were rife.

The murder of the Protector, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, in 1446, preceded only by a few months the death of his opponent, Cardinal Beaufort, and the Lancastrian dynasty itself survived the tragic event only fifteen years. Some interesting particulars of the "Good Duke" and his connection with St. Alban's Abbey, where he was buried, will be found in *Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 218,

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xxix, and the MS. preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, there referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS., No. 2255, fo. 131.

by G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A. The sweeping nature of England's losses by foreign wars and civil cabals is summed up emblematically in a political satire, the date of which is attributed to the close of the year 1449. I will quote from it some references to departed spirits :—

“The *root*<sup>1</sup> is dead, the *swan* is gone,  
The *fiery cresset* hath lost his light.”

The “root” is John Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, third son of Henry IV, who died in 1435. That beautiful relic of this Prince, preserved in the British Museum, and known as “The Bedford Missal”, is described in a late Number of the Palæographical Society's publication, Part x, Pl. 172-173. It is a MS. “Hours of the Virgin Mary”, of rare beauty. It seems to have been a wedding present from the Duke to his wife, and by her was afterwards presented, with her husband's consent, to King Henry VI on Christmas Eve, 1430. The vignettes of the border have for their subject the seven virtues and their seven opposite vices. On another page is the Duke of Bedford in his oratory, kneeling in prayer to St. George, patron of the Order of the Garter, the mantle of which, with the badge on the left shoulder, the Saint wears over his armour. The Duke is clothed in a richly brocaded cloth of gold. His motto, “A vous entier”, with his emblem, a golden root, appears on a cloth which is thrown over the desk at which he is kneeling. The vignettes representing martyrs are set in frames of golden roots intertwined, which form the ground of the border.

The next emblems in the poem are the *swan*, for Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, before referred to; and the *fiery cresset* for John Holland, Duke of Exeter, who died 5 August 1446.

“The *castle* is won, where care begun,  
The *portecullis* is laid adown;  
Yclosed we have our *velvet hat*  
That covered us from many storms brown.”

The *Castle of Rouen* surrendered in 1447. The *portecullis* was Edmond Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, made Regent of France on the recall of the Duke of York in 1445, and created Duke of Somerset on 31 March 1448. After the

<sup>1</sup> Or wood-stock.



loss of Rouen and Caen he was recalled, and was unpopular. The *velvet hat* was Cardinal Beaufort.

“The *White Lion* is laid to sleep  
Through the envy of the *Ape-Clog*;  
And he is bounden that our door should keep,  
That is, *Tulbot* our good dog.”

The *White Lion* was the Duke of Norfolk, who had gone on pilgrimage to Rome in 1477; the *Ape-Clog* was the Duke of Suffolk, the “Jack-Napes”; and *Talbot* was the great Earl of Shrewsbury.

“The *Bear* is bound that was so wild,  
For he hath lost his ragged staff,  
The *Carte-nathe* is spokeless  
For the counsel that he gaf.”

The *Bear* is Richard Neville, created Earl of Warwick, 4 May 1442; beheaded at the battle of Wakefield. He was father of the “King-Maker.” The *Carte-nathe* was Humphrey de Stafford, created Duke of Buckingham on 14 Sept. 1444; killed in the battle of Northampton in 1460.

“The *Water bouge* and the *Wine-botell*  
With the *Fetterlock*’s chain been fast.”

Henry Lord Bouchier bore four *water-bougets* on his shield; and the *wine-bottle* may, perhaps, refer to James Butler, created Earl of Wiltshire in 1449. The *Fetterlock* represented the Prior of St. John’s.

“The *Falcon* fleeth, and hath no rest,  
Till he wit where to bigg his nest.”

The *Falcon* was the Duke of York, who had been sent into Ireland to be out of the way.

The explanations are from Mr. Thomas Wright’s notes on the poem.

After the reconciliation of 1458 follow thirteen years of continual strife. The battlefields have not been much explored, though they illustrate a period of remarkable interest, in a military point of view, when the old tactics were giving way to a new system, consequent upon the invention of gunpowder.<sup>1</sup> The great characteristic of the

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for many particulars of these battles to Mr. Richard Brooke’s *Visits to Battlefields of the Fifteenth Century*. 1857.

old method was the armour of the nobles, which rendered them almost impervious to arrows, lances, and swords, and tended to encourage the settlement of disputes by single combat. Our country can boast of beautiful examples of the sculptured effigies of these mailed warriors on their tombs in the various churches of the kingdom, presenting an unparalleled series of national portraits which ought to be valued and studied as they deserve. I will refer to three of these as good specimens of the warriors of the Lancastrian period.<sup>1</sup>

1. In Yolgrave Church, Derbyshire, Sir John Cokayne of Harthill, who died in 1504, attired in plate-armour, with a gorget and skirt of chain-mail, and the elbow-pieces fastened by double points or straps. Round the neck is the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, with the white lion of March appendant.<sup>2</sup>

2. In Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire, is a knight, a perfect specimen of the reigns of Henry V and VI. Here we perceive the absence of military surcoat, jupon, or tabard; and the appendage to the skirt of horizontal bands, called "taces", attached to the breastplate; hausesol; and pair of plates to protect the arm-pits, called "pallettes".

3. In Salisbury Cathedral, Robert Lord Hungerford in complete plate-armour of the fifteenth century; Lord Hungerford having fought under the Duke of Bedford during the wars in France, in the reign of Henry VI, and died in 1459. The hair is polled, a fashion introduced in the time of Henry V; and he wears the collar of SS, first introduced in the reign of Henry IV. The shoulder and elbow-pieces (called pauldron and poleyns) are ample, and elegantly shaped; and the latter were fastened by what were called points or laces, with tags to them, of leather or silk. The knee-pieces (the genouillères) are very handsome, and with scalloped edges, particularly characteristic of Henry VI. The military belt is still seen to which the sword and dagger were appended.<sup>3</sup>

In this reign the jazarine jacket is frequently worn in place of the breast- and back-plates. This defence was

<sup>1</sup> The armour is on the authority of our late Vice-President, Mr. J. R. Planché, Somerset Herald.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, vii, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xv, p. 115.

composed of small, overlapping plates of iron covered with velvet, the gilt studs that secured them forming an exterior ornament. To the bascinet, helmet, and chapel-de-fer, was now added a new head-piece called a "salade" or "sallet", its principal characteristic being the projection behind. The armour in general is exceedingly ornamented. The spurs, sometimes of enormous length, were screwed to the heel instead of being fastened with leather. The spear was the weapon carried by a gentleman, the bow by a yeoman, and soldiers were denominated from the weapons they carried. The cross-bow used at this period was made of hard wood ornamented with ivory. It was usually about 3 ft. 3 ins. long; the steel bow about 2 ft. 8 ins. from end to end, weighing 15 lbs.; the length of the groove for the quarrel, about 1 ft. 4 ins. The arrows discharged were called quarrels and biretons.

This account is taken from Lieut.-Colonel John Luard's history of the dress of the British soldier; and to him I am indebted for the following (taken from the Records in the Tower) short statement which shows how the enlistments were managed:—

"Sir James Ormond, Knt., retains Mr. Joseph Skidamore to serve under him in the expedition against France, under Richard Duke of York, in the nineteenth year of this reign, by which he is bound to serve for a year in all places where it shall please Sir James to order him as a man of arms; with six archers in his company, all on horseback, and well chosen men, well and sufficiently armed, horsed, and arrayed, every man after his degree; Sir James to have harness complete, with bascinet and *salade*, with visor, spear, axe, sword, and dagger; and all the archers good jakks of defence, *salades*, swords, and sheaves of forty-one arrows at least. Sir James to have 19*d.* *per diem*, with the accustomed rewards; and for each of the archers 6*d.* *per diem*. The first half year to be paid in England, and the second in France, where the muster is to be made on the day and place to be named by the Duke of York; and the said James Skidamore<sup>1</sup> to take for himself and archers cloaks of the said Lord the

<sup>1</sup> The beautiful female figure in white marble, on her tomb in the chantry-chapel of the Kyrle-Moneys, in Much Marche Church, was a Scudamore.

Duke's livery, paying for them like as other soldiers of their degree do."

Colonel Luard says the first introduction of hand-guns into England was when King Edward landed at Ravenspur, in 1471, and brought with him three hundred Flemings armed with "hand-gonnes".

Let us now take a rapid survey of these battles. The first blood was shed at St. Alban's, on 22nd May 1455. The second battle was that at Bloreheath, two miles and a half from Drayton in Staffordshire, fought 23 Sept. 1459. Henry VI was at Coleshill, Warwickshire, and the Queen, Margaret, and the Prince at Eccleshall, Staffordshire. James Touchet, Lord Audley, raised 10,000 men, and took up his position at Drayton, to intercept the Earl of Salisbury on his march. The Lancastrians were defeated, and Lord Audley, with 2,400 of his force, perished on the field; but on the other side the two sons of the Earl were wounded. Sir John Neville, the eldest (afterwards Marquis Montague), was slain at the battle of Barnet in 1471; and Sir Thomas at the battle of Wakefield in 1460.

The next great contest was at Northampton, on 10 July 1460, after the confederated Yorkists had landed at Sandwich from Calais, with the Earls of March and Salisbury; and being joined by many other nobles, proceeded northward to meet Henry, and took up their position between Towcester and Northampton. The battle began at seven o'clock in the morning, on 9 July; but Edmund Lord Grey of Ruthin betrayed his trust on the Lancastrian side, and lost them the battle, which greatly damaged King Henry's cause. The King himself having been taken prisoner, the Queen escaped, with the Prince, to the bishopric of Durham. Among others slain, fighting for King Henry, was Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, member of a family of whom five generations in succession died violent deaths.

The fortune of war was changed in the next battle, of Wakefield. Richard Duke of York marched from London on 2 Dec. 1460, and his eldest son went down into Herefordshire. The Duke, with the Yorkists, took up their position on an eminence at Sandal Castle; and Margaret hastened from York to meet them, with the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Somerset, Earl of Devonshire, Earl

of Wiltshire, Lord Clifford, Lord Roos, and the Earl of Northumberland. The Yorkists, descending from their high position, came down to meet them on 31 Dec., and a furious contest ensued. The Duke of York was slain, with about 2,800 of his force. Edmund Plantagenet, his son, a boy only twelve years old, was captured when flying, and put to death by Lord Clifford near Wakefield Bridge.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of March was at Gloucester when he heard of his father's death; and it was not long before he had an opportunity of revenging it, which he did at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire. A battle was fought there on Candlemas Day, 2 Feb. 1461, in the parish of Kingsland, between Leominster and Wigmore, not far from East Hereford. Wigmore Castle was a principal residence of the Mortimers and of Richard Duke of York. Edward attacked the armies of the Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire, and defeated them. 3,800 of the Lancastrians are reported as slain. Sir Owen Tudor, father of the Earl of Pembroke, second husband of Queen Katherine, widow of Henry V, was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Hereford.

The Earl of Warwick had recently been defeated by the Lancastrians at the second battle of St. Alban's; but he effected a junction with the Yorkists of the west at Chipping Norton. The Earl and the victorious Edward then marched towards London, and on the 4th of March 1461 a general council of the nobles, bishops, gentlemen, and chief citizens, was summoned at Baynard's Castle, when the Earl of March was elected King. The next day he went in procession to St. Paul's, and thence to Westminster, where, in the great Hall, he was set on the King's seat with St. Edmund's sceptre in his hand, and was then conducted by the nobles to the Abbey and to St. Edward's shrine, according to custom.

There were still, however, five more battles before the end came, ten years after the battles of Mortimer's Cross

<sup>1</sup> Here is a murder reported to the prejudice of the Lancastrians, and it would be well to pass this through the same crucial ordeal as was applied by Mr. Wright the other evening to the alleged murder of the youthful Prince Edward at Tewkesbury by the Yorkists. Let us diminish all we can the stain on both sides. It would be more satisfactory to find that the two young Princes had died on the field, in the heat of the fight.



and St. Alban's, and one of the fiercest was that at Towton. The Lancastrian army was at York, and on the approach of the Yorkists marched out through Tadcaster to Towton. The Yorkists took up their position at Saxton; and on Palm Sunday, the 29th of March 1461, at nine in the morning, this fierce encounter of Towton took place, which ended in the rout and dispersion of the Lancastrian army. John Lord Clifford fell the day before the battle. He was son of Thomas Lord Clifford slain in 1455 at the first battle of St. Alban's. John fought at the battle of Wakefield. The numbers engaged on each side are given as about 60,000 Lancastrians, and 48,000 Yorkists. The number of slain is estimated at about 36,776; but of course these figures must be accepted with caution. Hall says that "the feelde was sore foughten, for there were slayne on both partys XXXIII<sup>u</sup> men, and they fought all night." No quarter was to be given, and the slaughter must have been very great when the mode of fighting is considered."<sup>1</sup> King Edward ordered his archers to shoot a volley of arrows which were used for great distances, and then retire a little. The consequence was, that when another volley was returned from the Lancastrians, in whose faces the snow descended with great violence, their missiles fell short of the mark. Falconbridge, who commanded Edward's archers that composed the van, then ordered them to throw back their bows, and draw their swords; whereupon the armies met, and the battle became a furious conflict of personal strength and bravery, which was ultimately decided in favour of Edward.

Halberts are first mentioned about this time, and swords and bucklers are now assigned to the archers, as appears by their use in the conflict just described.

Three years after this combat we read of another at Hexham, on 15 May 1464, when the Duke of Somerset, Lords Roos and Hungerford, were all beheaded by the Yorkists, and Humphrey Neville also suffered at Newcastle. Then five years later a battle was fought on

<sup>1</sup> Sir Frederic Madden (*Archæologia*, xxix) says the fullest account handed down to us of this conflict is contained in the fragment printed by Hearne at the end of Sprot's *Chronicle*, from a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin (D, 4-18).

26 July 1469; and in the following year, after a struggle at Nottingham, Henry VI was restored (1470); but his triumph was of short duration, for the two famous battles in the following year ended his eventful reign.

Margaret, acting under the advice of her father, Reynar, King of Sicily, seems all along to have taken a strong part in the government; but Hall is severe both on herself and her husband when he says "she joyned hir husband with hir in name, for a countenance; yet she did all, she saied all, and she bare the whole swynge, as the strong ox doth when he is yoked in the plough with a poor, silly asse".<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th or 14th of April 1471, Margaret and her son, accompanied by John Longstrother, Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, arrived at Weymouth from France, and proceeded to the Abbey of Beaulieu. She had heard of the disastrous battle of Barnet, fought on the day of her landing, that is, on Easter Day 1471. For six hours the victory had been doubtful; but the defeat of the Lancastrians was announced to her, and the capture of the King, her husband; but she had promises of support from the Somersets, Beauforts, Courtenays, and Wenlocks. A force was raised in the counties of Somerset, Wilts, Cornwall, and Devon, and it moved from Exeter by Taunton, Glastonbury, and Wells, to Bath, and thence to Bristol, for the purpose of joining Jasper Earl of Pembroke in Wales.

Edward leaves Windsor the day after St. George's Day, 24th of April. He is at Abingdon on the 27th, and on Monday the 29th proceeds to Cirencester. Next day he marches to Malmesbury. On Thursday he arrives at Sodbury, and learns that the Lancastrians had gone by Berkeley towards Gloucester.<sup>2</sup> Margaret proceeds to

<sup>1</sup> The earliest accounts having been written under Yorkist influence, the later histories, composed after the battle of Bosworth, and under the Tudors, must certainly not be despised.

<sup>2</sup> The famous lawsuit for the possession of the Castle and barony of Berkeley, which arose early in the fifteenth century, was not finally settled till 1609. The Berkeleys had borne the brunt of it for one hundred and ninety-two years against the most powerful families of the kingdom, the Beauchamps, the Talbots, the Greys, the Dudleys, and the Sidneys, and lastly the Crown itself; but at the close of it, the direct heir male, seventeenth Baron by descent, was firmly established

Tewkesbury. King Edward comes to Cheltenham, and on the 3rd of May encamps near the Lancastrian position at Tewkesbury. On Saturday the 4th of May the Yorkists attack. Richard Duke of Gloucester leads the van; Edward, with the Duke of Clarence, the centre; and the rear is commanded by the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Hastings. The Lancastrians also move in three divisions. The Duke of Somerset and John Lord Beaufort command the first line; Prince Edward, Lord Wenlock, and the Prior of St. John, the second; and the Earl of Devonshire the third.

Prince Edward, the unfortunate son of Henry VI, was taken prisoner by Sir Richard Crofts, as is alleged; and I will say no more about his death or murder, as it has been discussed at length by Mr. G. R. Wright. On May 6th the Duke of Somerset, the Prior of St. John's, Sir H. Audley, Sir Gervase Clifton, and others, were executed in the Market-Place of Tewkesbury,—a small triangular space where the three principal streets meet. The unfortunate King Henry's corpse (for he had been murdered in the Tower) was exposed in St. Paul's Cathedral on Ascension Day, that there might be no mistake about his demise. It was then conveyed to Blackfriars, and by water to Chertsey, and thence to Windsor. The Queen, after being ransomed by Lewis of France for fifty thousand crowns, appears to have retired to that country, and to have survived her husband some years.

After a lapse of two centuries we find another daughter of France, the Queen Henrietta Maria, as unpopular in this country as Margaret of Anjou had been; and some kind of a historical parallel may be drawn between the two periods. One of Charles' bravest and perhaps most popular acts was that when he dismissed and shipped off to France the friends and foreigners belonging to the Queen's court; for the intrigues of the French and Spanish ambassadors, through their influence, rendered any political compromise impossible in the then distracted state

in possession of his ancestral Castle and barony. It is interesting and apposite to this history to remark that the domestic troubles of the Berkeleys prevented them from taking part in the Wars of the Roses, which inflicted such losses to life and property in the case of the other great families. (*Trans. of Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, 1878, p. 9, Part II.)

of the country, and the number of these foreigners had increased to about four hundred persons. The King, in writing from Oaking to the Duke of Buckingham, on the 7th of October 1625, says, "I command you to send all the French away tomorrow out of the towne, if you can by fair meanes (but stike not long in disputing), other-ways force them away lyke so manie wild beastes, until ye have shipped them; and so the devil goe with them. Let me heare no answer but of the performance of my command.—C. R."<sup>1</sup>

In the first period under review, an under-current of religious reforming zeal can be traced in the poems of the time, such as distinguished the second period also. The following lines against the Lollards might be applied to the Puritans of the days of the Commonwealth :—

"To jangle of Job or Jeremye,  
That construen hit after her entent  
For lewde luste of lollardie."<sup>2</sup>

The English were always a religious people, and their zeal sometimes led them into strange eccentricities; but no good purpose was served towards bringing back the stray sheep by condemning the memory of Wycliffe at a solemn Council at Sienna, and ordering his bones to be dug up half a century after his death, and thrown to the winds; which was done by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, in the sixth year of Henry VI, at Lutterworth, where he was buried, and of which parish he had been the incumbent.

The murder of the Duke of Suffolk was the commencement of a civil war under Henry VI, as was the murder of the Duke of Buckingham under Charles I; and the operations in Normandy, of the first period, have a parallel in the unfortunate expedition to raise the siege of Rochelle in the second. The parallel must not be pressed too far; but as to the gallantry of the combatants on both sides, it was not less admirable in one case than in the other. The Marquess of Worcester, a descendant, in the male line, of John of Gaunt, defended Raglan Castle, at the age of eighty-four, in the cause of King Charles;

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. on Charles I*, by I. D'Israeli, vol. ii, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Cotton, Vespas. B, 11.

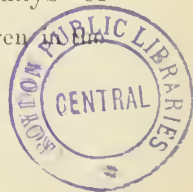


and I have singled him out merely as bearing the title of this county.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of loyalty and honour which excited the mailed nobles of Henry VI to fight *à l'outrance*, showed itself not less strongly in the Cavaliers of Charles and the soldiers of the Long Parliament. The sovereigns themselves, of the two periods, have some traits in common, at least in their martyrdom. Neither was so weak as some historians would have us suppose. We are indebted to Henry VI for planting seminaries of learning which have borne good fruit in after ages, as King's College at Cambridge, and the royal foundation of St. Mary's at Eton. His Queen, Margaret, was the foundress of Queen's College at Cambridge. We may reflect upon his times when we view some of the brick-built structures then first introduced. Hurstmonceaux, in Sussex, may be mentioned as one of the few which have escaped the ravages of time, and portions also of Eton College.

This King had removed his court to Coventry in 1456; and at this place, famous also for the Parliament of 1460, where thirty-two temporal peers took the oath of fealty to the King and to his dynasty, is now to be seen that beautiful tapestry which was lately exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries. The King and Queen, and ladies of the court, are drawn on this fine specimen of the loom, which represents the marriage of the King with Margaret of Anjou, and is supposed to have been made in England; and perhaps, judging from the costumes, it dates from the reign of Henry VII.

Then as to the latter sovereign, Charles I, it would be impossible, in a short paper, to name even all the battles fought, or the numerous relics we have of him. In the description of these our Society has taken a prominent part, Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., F.S.A. Scot., having during many years past, at the evening meetings, produced and commented on such relics. Certainly one of the most interesting memorials of the period was the house or castle of Miss Jones, visited at the Evesham Congress, and where we saw a house with its tapestried walls and antique furniture almost unaltered since the days of

<sup>1</sup> An account of the siege and its gallant defenders is given in the *Journal*, x, p. 317, by W. Beattie, M.D.





King Charles and of Bishop Juxon, who resided in the neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> The unfortunate monarch fell upon a time of crisis, and England of the seventeenth century was not the England of Henry VI.

From the heights of the Worcestershire Beacon we shall be able to see, in the distance, the spot where, half way up an ascent, the first engagement in the civil war took place; and looking towards Worcester we may see the field of the last battle. The first was fought at Kington, known as the battle of Edge Hill, in 1642, where Sir Jacob Astley and the Marquess of Hertford commanded the King's army, 10,000 strong; and the Earl of Essex, with 15,000 men, in the cause of the Parliament, came from Northampton. 5,000 men were left dead on the field, and the King had to retire to Reading and Oxford without the conflict being very decisive in favour of either party. The next year was fought the battle of Lansdowne, near Bath, on July 5, 1643, with uncertain result; but the Royalists gained a victory over Sir William Waller near Devizes, about which we heard last year on the spot. They, however, suffered severely at the siege of Bristol soon after, though they captured that important city, and laid siege to Gloucester.

In 1644 was fought the battle of Marston Moor, near York, where 50,000 troops were engaged, and Prince Rupert was opposed to Cromwell. The temerity of the Earl of Newcastle was the cause of much loss to the Royalists; and the arms of the King in the North were not more successful. The two armies again faced each other at Copredy Bridge, near Banbury, and the King had more success both here and in Cornwall this year, 1644. A second battle was fought at Newbury, Oct. 27, 1644, and the King with difficulty succeeded in bringing off his artillery from Donnington Castle. From the storming of Leicester to the battle of Naseby some details are given in *Journal*, xix, p. 25, by Sir H. Halford, Bart.

The battle of Naseby, fought in 1645, was fatal to the King's cause. The King himself commanded in person; the right wing was led by Prince Rupert, the left by

<sup>1</sup> We have also had many papers describing relics and medals of the Commonwealth, by Mr. H. W. Henfrey and others.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax commanded the centre of the Parliamentary forces, Cromwell the right wing, and Ireland, his son-in-law, the left ; and the number of slain on the side of the latter exceeded that of the Royalists, yet Fairfax made 500 officers prisoners, and 4,000 privates, and captured all the King's artillery ; so that no victory could be more complete on the part of the Parliamentary army.

The flight of Charles from Oxford, on 5th May 1646, has been described, with interesting details, by the Rev. Edmund Venables, M.A., in the *Reports* of the Architectural Societies of Lincoln, 1877. The King left Oxford on Sunday, 26 April, at two o'clock in the morning, passing over Magdalen Bridge as the clock struck three. He made for Dorchester, then turned up by Henley, Maidenhead, and Slough, under the very walls of Windsor Castle. On Tuesday, the 28th, he was at Barnet. Passing Harrow-on-the-Hill, he took the road by St. Alban's to Wheathamstead. On Wednesday, the 29th, he lodged at a small inn seven miles from Newmarket, then he was at Downham, and at a blind alehouse eight miles from Lynn. He remained at Stamford till the 4th of May, and reached Southwell on the 5th, sleeping at the Saracen's Head,—an old inn mentioned in a deed dated as far back as 29 Oct. 1396. Original documents relating to the King's captivity are given by the late Secretary of this Society, Mr. Edward Levien, M.A., F.S.A., in *Journal*, xix, p. 12.

The recital of subsequent events which led up to the King's trial and execution need find no place here ; but two years after the King's death we find Charles II, encouraged by his successes in Scotland, coming down upon Worcester, though with inadequate forces, to face Cromwell's army of 30,000 men, who fell upon the city, where some resistance was made by the Duke of Hamilton and General Middleton, the former being mortally wounded ; and the King, after some acts of personal bravery, had to escape by St. Martin's Gate, and travelled about twenty-six miles with fifty or sixty of his friends. The adventure of Boscobel, and the King's concealment in the oak, were related when we visited the spot at the Wolverhampton Congress ; and we saw the concealed passage

through which he escaped from Penderell's house, whence he made a rapid flight to the Sussex coast, embarking there for Fécamp in Normandy.

I will conclude this recital by remarking that at both periods herein referred to, and of which we are now tracing the records in this county, the influence of a foreign power, and the connexion of the Government with foreign politics, have been greatly the cause of the domestic disturbances and the unpopularity of the ruling powers. True to the letter are the words of Shakespeare put into the mouth of Lord Hastings :—

“ Let us be back'd with God, and with the seas  
Which he hath given for fence impregnable,  
And with their help only defend ourselves.  
In them and in ourselves our safety lies.”

(*King Henry VI*, Part III, Act iv, Sc. 1.)

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## NOTES ON THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL COSLANEY, NORWICH.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(*Read Nov. 18, 1885.*)

IN the course of my vacation rambles since our Congress at Brighton this autumn, I paid a visit to the Rector of the parish of St. Michael Coslaney, in Norwich, which enabled me to obtain some information respecting the early history of the church of that parish, which I now offer in the hope that it may prove of interest.

Blomefield, in his *History of Norfolk* (vol. iv, p. 492, ed. 1818), gives a list of rectors commencing with Edward Oram of Acle (or Ocle) Market, in Norfolk, A.D. 1300, from which it appears that there was a church in the later part of the thirteenth century. I have not been able to trace any part of so old a structure.

The church as it now stands is of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work, and consists of a nave and north aisle, chapel, chancel, and remains of a south aisle, terminating eastward in the Thorpe Chapel; a chantry chapel, the interior of which existed in a more perfect form at the commencement of this century, when Blomefield wrote his *History of Norfolk*. A comparison of his description with the present state of the church will show the changes which have taken place since that period.

Blomefield says (vol. iv, p. 492) the church was commonly called "St. Miles<sup>1</sup> in Coslaney", and that it was a rectory valued at £13 : 6 : 8 in the King's books, and being sworn of the clear yearly value of £14 : 12 : 2, it was discharged of first fruits and tenths. The total endowment at that time was £70 *per annum*; it is now stated to be £80 in *The Clergy List*.

Thorpe Chapel is thus described by Blomefield: "At

<sup>1</sup> Does this account for the family surname of Miles as a corruption (sometimes) of Michael?

the east end of the south aisle is a chapel of beautiful workmanship, made with freestone and black flints. This is the chantry chapel of the Virgin Mary, which was built, and endowed with lands and houses in Norwich, Barnham, Broom, Hemingham, Sprowston, Heigham, and Wood Dallyng, by Robert Thorp (he was burgess in Parliament in Richard III's time), the founder, in the time of Henry VII. He lies buried here under a stone which hath his own effigies and those of his three wives, and three boys and two girls; but the inscription is lost. It had the arms of Thorp, *az.*, three crescents *arg.* on the first shield; and the same arms impaled with those of his three wives. His second wife's arms remain, viz., a fess nebulé between three wolf's heads erased."

The first chantry priest was Sir Richard Wallome or Waller. He and the several other chantry priests, his successors, were buried in the chapel. The following inscription on the tomb of John Webber, one of the chantry priests, is thus given by Blomefield:—

"Orate pro anima Johannis Webber Arcium Magistri et Cantarie hujus Ecclesie quondam Cappellani qui obiit a<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> M<sup>o</sup>v.c.xxvii<sup>o</sup> ejus anime propicietur deus."

There are now no remains left of the tomb of Robert Thorp or of any of the chantry priests.

In A.D. 1524 Robert Long, citizen of Norwich, and Agnes, his wife, gave to Gonville Hall, in Cambridge, the perpetual donation to this chantry, on condition that they constantly nominated an honest priest, or Fellow of their College, to reside in the house belonging to Thorp's Chantry priest in Norwich, and daily to serve the said Chantry.

Sir John Elwyn, who afterwards became rector, was the last Chantry priest. He had a pension for life of £6 : 13 : 4 out of the revenues of his Chantry. The whole of these revenues were granted by Edward VI, A.D. 1547,<sup>1</sup> to Sir Edward Warner, Knt., and Richard Catline, gentleman, to be held of the King as of his manor of Draiton, in Norfolk, by fealty, only in free socage, and not *in capite*.

<sup>1</sup> Chantryes were abolished, and their revenues vested in the King, by statute 1 Edward VI (1547).



The Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College were also patrons of the rectory, and continued so until 1867, when the advowson was granted to the Church Patronage Society, who are the present owners. The coat of arms of Gonville and Caius College was on the west end of the church in Blomefield's time. This has since disappeared.

The nave of the church is covered with lead, and is said<sup>1</sup> to have been rebuilt by John Stalon, who was Sheriff in 1511, and Stephen Stalon, who served that office in 1512; and lies buried at the west end, with an inscription on his tomb, which existed most probably on a brass in Blomefield's time, but has now disappeared, with many others, which in 1739 were, says Blomefield, reaved and stolen out of the church, and the churchwardens advertised a reward to any persons that would discover who stole them. The following is the inscription on Stephen Stalon's tomb as given by Blomefield:—

“Orate pro animâ Stephani Stalon quondam vicecomitis Civitatis Norwici qui obiit m<sup>o</sup> die Februarii A<sup>o</sup> Dñi 1527 cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.”

The early brasses which remain in the church are those of which I have taken rubbings which I have exhibited this evening. They are three in number, the principal being in the north aisle, consisting of two female figures, with the following inscription:—

“Orate pro animabus Henrici Scolows quondam Aldermanni Civitatis Norwici et Alicie Consortis sue qui quidem Henricus obiit xxv die Dec. A<sup>o</sup> Dñi m<sup>o</sup>vc xv<sup>o</sup>.”

At each corner of this tomb is a representation of one of the four symbols of the Evangelists. The whole of this brasswork is in fine preservation. Unfortunately, however, the symbol representing the man at the north-west corner of the stone slab is covered by a portion of a modern stove, which prevented my getting as satisfactory a rubbing of this brass as of the others.

It will be observed that the inscription at the feet of the two effigies does not correspond with them, as it refers to Henry Scolows and Alice his wife, whilst the

<sup>1</sup> Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, vol. iv.

two effigies are those of two women. There is a brass inscription near this tomb which exactly answers to these effigies. It is—

“Orate pro animabus Helene et Elizabethe Godfrey filiarum Will: Godfrey Vicecomitis Civitatis Norwici quarum animabus propicietur deus A° dñi xv c.xxx°.”

The brass on which this inscription is engraved is, however, too long to fit into the space occupied by Henry Scolows' inscription, which exactly agrees in length with the space between the feet of the two female effigies. I have not been able to gain any information which explains this difficulty. Alderman Henry Scolows (or Scolhouse, as Blomefield calls him) was said to have been a benefactor to the parish.

The only other brass remaining is an inscription without figures, as follows :—

“Hic Jacet Rich French quondam Civis et Aldermanus Norwici atque quinquies Maior Civitatis Norwici qui obiit die March A° dñi 1500 prima ho<sup>r</sup> post meridiem. Cujus animam propicietur Deus Amen.”

The Parish Registers commence in the year 1558, and are in excellent preservation. The first christening is of Amye Austen, who was christened 17 Nov. 1558. The first marriage is of Antony Walker to Jane Mynees, 17 May 1558; and the first burial is of William Leke, who was buried 27 Sept. 1558. In the burial entries for the year 1619 is the following, written in a bold, round hand instead of the small, abbreviated style of that period:—

“Henricus Fawcett Generosus Aldermanus Civitatis Norwici Parochianus hujus Eccles<sup>e</sup> munificentissimus sepultus fuit 29 Jany. 1619.”

He was buried in the north chapel, and a tomb erected against the east wall of that chapel. All that now remains visible of this tomb consists of a mutilated coat of arms, an escutcheon emblazoned, containing a bend and crescent in chief for difference, the whole covered with a thick coating of yellow plaster. Blomefield states that in his time the tomb was broken through to make a passage into the vestry, and that his arms (on a bend three dolphins with a crescent *gu.* for difference) still re-

mained. This vestry was removed about four years ago, when some repairs and restoration were done to the church, amongst which Mr. William Bullard, the head of the large brewery firm in the parish, refaced the exterior of the Thorpe Chapel with flints, and put an eastern window in the chancel as a memorial to his late father, there being none previously.

It is a pity that some care was not taken to preserve what remained of Henry Fawcitt's tomb instead of obliterating it by fresh plaster. It would be a very easy task to remove this coating, and open out the tomb.

The Communion-plate belonging to this church is specially interesting. It consists of a silver chalice,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height by 4 inches and three-sixteenths in diameter; the diameter of the base, 3 inches and five-eighths. It has an elegantly chased gilt band about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch below the rim. The paten forms a lid to the cup, and has the following inscription on the base :—

“ Saynt Micha  
eil of Cosla  
nye A° 1567.”

Both the cup and paten are in good preservation.

The copy of Blomefield's *Norfolk*, in the MSS. Department of the British Museum (Add. MS. 23,016), has plain and coloured drawings : of a demi-angel holding a scroll, projecting from the wall of the east end of the church; the font; the stones which carried four brasses; painted windows and shields of arms; carved ornaments on the roof; and carved emblems of the four Evangelists above the west door in the church.

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# NOTES ON SOME ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

## OF THE

### SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

### RELATING TO SUSSEX.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read at the Brighton Congress, Aug. 20, 1885.*)

ANTERIOR to the *Domesday Book*, compiled in the year 1086, all history is dark and glimmering; and although there are many bright spots well illustrated by this or that writing, and many historical incidents, and many time-hallowed localities of which it may be said we have little more to learn, on the other hand there are innumerable phases of historical research which even in these late days of the world are still but as labyrinthine passages and mazy subterranean pathways not illuminated even by the faintest ray of light from the miner's lamp of scientific progress.

Let us apply these ideas to the county history of Sussex in the seventh and eighth centuries, as illustrated by Anglo-Saxon charters, and by the texts of original documents relating to localities in the county during that period. The county of Sussex does not possess any very large number of these documents, notwithstanding the immense acreage of the land, and the numerous parishes which represent Saxon or ante-Saxon centres of life and industry. Seventeen documents alone remain, and with the exception of three they all come from two Registers of the Cathedral and Dean and Chapter of Chichester. These MSS. were accessible to the Editors of the *New Monasticon Anglicanum*, and to Kemble when he compiled his well-known *Codex Diplomaticus* in 1842.

To the collection of texts which the period under notice has fortunately been able to preserve in the Chichester Registers, I am much gratified that I have been able to add two new charters of considerable interest, which up

to within a very recent period were unknown ; and I shall proceed to mention the documents in their chronological order, and endeavour to elucidate some of the many and great difficulties which they present to criticism, as well as some of the numerous historical points which they themselves confirm and illustrate ; for the short time at my command to-night will only permit a very brief notice to be taken of these matters ; and I trust I shall not knowingly infringe our very salutary rule restricting readers of papers to something less than half an hour.

1. The first document is a grant made by King Caed-ualla, of Wessex, to Bishop Wilfrid, of lands to construct a monastery in Selsey,—“*ad construendum monasterium in loco qui vocatur Seolesige.*” It is dated 3 August, A.D. 683, and was found in the Chichester Registers, A xviii, fo. 16, and B xviii, fo. 4b, by Kemble, the original deed not being extant. It now forms No. 64 of my *Cartularium Saxonicum*. The tributary places given by Caed-ualla to Wilfrid (we saw the fresco of this incident of Wilfrid’s reception in the Cathedral on Tuesday) for the maintenance of the monastery at Selsey,—that peninsula on the north side of which Chichester now stands,—are these :—Seolesige (Selsey), Medemenige (Medmeney), Wihtringes (Wittering), Iccanore (Itchenor), Bridham (Birdham), Egesauude (a wood now cut down probably ; but we may compare *Easwith* Hundred, *Exwood*, *Easebourne* Hundred, and *Egdean*, near Chichester, with the name), Bessenheie, Brimfastun (Brimfast), Sidelesham (Siddlesham), Aldingburne, Lydesige (Lidsey), Geinsted-isgate (perhaps the MS. is corrupt here for Eastergate or Westergate), Mundham, Amberla (Amberley), Hohtun (Houghton), and Uualdham (Upwaltham).

The boundaries are laid in Wyuderinge (Wittering), “*post retractum mare in Cumeneshora*” (after the low tide at Cumeneshora), Rumbruge (a place which calls to mind, for its etymology, Rumboldswyke, near Chichester), Chenestone, Heremuthe, Wialesflet, Brimesdik, Woflet, and Wuderingemuthe—evidently the *embouchure* of the creek where West Wittering is situate. Many of these places, like Bracklesham, which gives a peculiarly parochial name to the so-called Bay on the west of Selsey



Island, have been swallowed up by the relentless progress of the sea since this charter was indited.

William of Malmesbury declares<sup>1</sup> that Caeduualla overthrew Edelwalk, King of the South Saxons, and annexed his kingdom. Edelwalk, baptised in Mercia, entertained, in A.D. 681, the exiled Wilfrid, fleeing from the wrath of his northern persecutors, and conferred on him a seat at Selsey, then having only one entrance by land. Here the prelate erected a monastery subject to the see of Winchester. Nothelm (or probably an earlier), Archbishop, appointed Edbriht to be first Bishop of Selsey, thus making the monastery a cathedral. Edbriht, or Eadbert, was consecrated in A.D. 709; in A.D. 714, Ella, or Eolla, occurs as Bishop; in A.D. 733, Sigga, or Sighelm, was consecrated, and trustworthy notices of him are found between the years 737 and 747. He was succeeded by Aluberht; and Aluberht succeeded by Bosa—the Bosa of the pictorial panorama of Bishops set out on the north wall of the north transept of the Cathedral. Bosa has been equated with Osa, and a date of from A.D. 765 to 770 appears rightly to belong to him. He was succeeded by Osuuald, who occurs in A.D. 772, in a charter which I have reason to believe was printed for the first time in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* by me last year.<sup>2</sup> Hardy and other historians, including Haddan and Stubbs (in their *Councils*, vol. iii), consider Osuuald a variation of the name of Osa; but this is unnecessary, and unsupported by evidence. This Osuuald was succeeded by Gislhere, who occurs in A.D. 780-781; Totta, A.D. 785; and Pehtun (*i.e.*, Wehtun) or Wiohtun, A.D. 789-805.

In A.D. 692 we find a grant by Nothelm, King of the South Saxons, to his sister, Nothgitha, of land to found a monastery and basilica, *i.e.*, church, in Lydesige (Lidsey), Aldingburne, Genstedegate, and Mundham. These places are probably all near Chichester, and the date of the document indicates the time of the building of the churches at one of these places. This deed is in the Chichester Register, B xviii. The original is not known to exist.<sup>3</sup>

In a subsequent charter, Nothgitha, “the royal sister” of King Nothelm, calling herself “*famula Christi*” (the

<sup>1</sup> *G. P.*, 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Cartul.*, No. 208.

<sup>3</sup> *Cartul.*, No. 78.



handmaiden of the Lord), granted this land to Bishop Wilfrid, who died in A.D. 709. This document is dated from a town or village called "Deaniton" (perhaps East or West Dean), north of Chichester. I am not aware of any Deanton or Denton in Sussex, to which the name could be more properly relegated. This forms another deed in the Chichester Cathedral Register, printed by Kemble and others, and No. 79 of the *Cartularium*.

From the same sources I have been able to derive a deed of uncertain date, probably not far distant, in point of time, from the foregoing. It is a grant by Bruny, Duke or Alderman of the South Saxons, of land for religious purposes, to Eadbyrt, Abbot of Selsey (afterwards Bishop in A.D. 709, on the death of Wilfrid), of four manents or hides of land in the place called "Hilegh" (now Highley), a prebendary land in the parish of Siddlesham. This deed is witnessed, like that of A.D. 692, by Nunna or Numa, King of the South Saxons, and Wattus, a King or "Subregulus", whose territory has not been ascertained.

In A.D. 714, Nunna or Numa, King of the South Saxons, granted by a charter still extant only in the Chichester Cathedral Register, to Beadufrið, Abbot or Prior of Selsey, certain lands at Herotunum (probably swallowed up by the sea); Bracklæshamstede, or Bracklesham (swallowed up, but has its name perpetuated in Bracklesham Bay in the Ordnance Survey Maps); and Sideleshamstede (Siddlesham), with an expressed wish that his body should be buried at Seolesige (Selsey). The four manents granted in the charter appear to point to the same quantity of land mentioned in the previous charters. If Herotunum must be sought for among existing places, and it be not Hilegh, it may possibly be Earnley, a parish between E. Wittering and Siddlesham; but the mention of Bracklesham, which we know is beneath the water, seems rather to indicate that Herotunum also lies engulfed there.

Kemble records another charter, unhappily mutilated in parts, among the documents transcribed into the Chichester Register, B xviii; and he also found the *original* charter among the muniments belonging to the Dean and Chapter, although its place of deposit cannot

now be ascertained. According to this, in the year 725, King Nunna grants to Bishop Eadberht certain land at places called Hugabeorh and Dene Hugabeorh; which may, perhaps, exist under the name of Hooborough or Houghborough, although I cannot find it on the Map, is difficult of identification. Dene, one would at first be inclined to identify as East or West Dene in Singleton Hundred, to the north of Chichester; but it is more probable that Denne Park, Horsham, is the site, as there are names among the boundaries which seem to point to the spot. The names in the boundaries are of great interest, as you will observe. They are—

1. "Freccehlince." I know nothing of this place.
2. "Billingabyrig." There is a Billingham. Both are outlying members of the great family of Billing scattered far and wide over England.
3. "Scealcurn." I know nothing of this place.
4. "Bollanea"; probably Bolney, in the Hundred of Buttinghill.
5. "Bulanhol"; cognate with the foregoing. Compare Bolnere House, not far off from Bolney.
6. "Isenan æwylm" (the frozen fountain), of which I can offer no explanation as to site.
7. "Sængelpicos." This is not a Saxon word. It is probably, as to the first half of the word, the British name of a large district in West and North-West Sussex, which appears again in the names of two hundreds and one parish. I find *Singleton Forest* and *West Dene Woods* to the north of Chichester. *Singlecross Hundred*, in North Sussex, is another instance of the survival of the British word, which, as is often the case, in the apparently innocent disguise of a simple modern word, is calculated to mislead some of us only superficially acquainted with the philology of place-names.
8. "Tibbanhol." I find no place to which this name can be referred (the hole or dug-out dwelling of Tibba); but the survival of this word gives us the clue to the signification of the name of *Tipnoak Hundred*, which I should say was so named after Tibba's Oak, where the "folkmoet" assembled; for we know that prominent trees and hills give their names to hundreds, and I shall presently give you another similar example of derivation.

About the same time King Nunna, in a charter no longer extant in its original form, but found in the Chichester Registers, grants to Berhfrid, who is designated as “*famulus Dei*” (a priest in all probability, but certainly a member of the church regular or secular), land at a place called “Piperinges”, on the river Tarrant,<sup>1</sup> on consideration of certain services of prayer and intercession. There is a place called Peppering near Crowhurst in Sussex, but I know of no river Tarrant in the county. Curiously enough there is Pimperne Hundred in Dorsetshire, through which flows the well known river Tarrant; but I cannot see how Nunna, whose kingdom was practically conterminous with Sussex and Surrey (the kingdom of the South Saxons), could have had any dominion in Dorsetshire; unless, indeed, it were a private property which he held there,—and this is unlikely. Those among my hearers will correct me if there is a river Tarrant in the county.

Beorhfrid, to whom the land was thus granted, subsequently, we are told in the charter, renounced the world (a phrase for becoming an anchorite, hermit, or recluse), and conveyed it to Eolla, Bishop of Chichester A.D. 714, and the Bishop in turn granted it to Wlfhere. At a subsequent date a certain Beoba, who had acquired an hereditary right over the land, probably in descent from Wlfhere, granted it to Beorra and Eccam or Erran, from the latter of whom King Osmund purchased the site, and granted it to Titburga, a handmaiden of the Lord (“*famula Dei*”), an expression representing the head of an abbey or nunnery.

I now come to one of the hitherto unpublished charters; that is, published for the first time, to the best of my researches, in the *Cartularium* a short time ago. This is derived from the only existing transcript, of the twelfth century, in the Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 1212, of which, by the great kindness of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, I have been permitted to make use for a time during the passing of the work through the press; and I may say here, that from this MS. I have gleaned several texts hitherto overlooked by

<sup>1</sup> There is a Tarrant Street in Chichester, I believe. Probably Trent is connected with this word Tarrant.



the reaping-hook of Kemble. May I say also here, that it is only by the liberality of those who are the enlightened owners or custodians of ancient MSS., in placing their collections at the disposal of the worker (some care, of course, being exercised to prevent injury or loss), that a collection of Anglo-Saxon charters at all perfect and comprehensive can be compiled.

This deed is called in the Lambeth MS. a "Collation of the Villis of Stanmere, Lindefeld, and Burhlea." By it King Alduulf gave to his Earl Hunlabe (a name recalling to mind that of Onlaf or Anlaf, not uncommon among the Danes) lands for building a monastery, dedicated to St. Michael, at Stanmere, now Stanmer, lying to the north of Brighton; Lindefeld, or Lindfield, on the river Glynd; and Burhlea, now the Hundred of Burhleigh-Arches, or Burarches, in the Rape of Pevensey, in which hundred Lindfield is, I believe, the only parish. This Monastery of St. Michael, at Stanmer, has disappeared entirely, leaving no trace of its existence, except the mention of its foundation in this document, and possibly in the dedication of Stanmer or the other churches. It must have glided out of existence at a very early date, perhaps during the Danish incursions in the time of King Alfred, at the close of the ninth century.

Among the boundaries are many places of which I know nothing,—Mulestana, Andowihline, Pettleswige, Rithmaerce, and Hwitewege. There are, on the other hand, the names of Diceling or Ditchling; Westmeston, near the foregoing Ditchling; Stanmer; Wifelesfeld, or Wivelsfield; and Steton, perhaps an error of the transcriber for Street or Strettingtone, formerly Strattune. The woodlands apportioned to this grant of a land probably deficient in wood are—Wifelesfeld, Haempeles Wyll, Frigedaega, Langanbeccan, and Hennesfeldes Burnan. Can this last refer to Henfield, somewhat far away? But it is known that in Sussex and Kent pastures were attached to landed property far away from their manors. To Stanmer, in similar manner, were attached the following: Humaham, Semæennes, Langahricge, Fischyrste, Heanfeld or Henfield, and Wulfpytt. The pastures for pig-feeding on the mast and the acorn herein given to the church of Stanmer include Fischyrste, Æscincwine, Healdeswyrth,



Lendenfelda or Lindfield, Citangaleahge, Bereleage or Burleigh-Arches, already mentioned, and Hafocunga-leahge, which will be found in a place compounded with the word Hawk-; but I cannot point to it with certainty. Hawkhurst and Hawksborough are not too far away for pig-feedings.

The names of Offa, King of the Mercians; Cynethrith, his Queen; and Egfrith, their son, belong to a later period, and have evidently been added by way of confirmation. The actual date of this document is uncertain, but it is probably not far from that of the following charter relating to Sussex, some parts of which it closely resembles.

In the Chichester Register, B xviii, is recorded a grant by King Osmund to the Earl Walhere, of land to build a monastery at Ferring in Sussex, dated 3rd August, A.D. 762 for 765, the *u* for *v* in the date having been mistaken by the transcriber for *ii*. This error has occasionally been found to occur in other charters incorrectly copied into registers, and those who study charters of this period are always on their guard against such errors. Nothing is now known of a monastery at Ferring.

The woodlands granted with the site are said to be at Coponora and Titlesham; places which I am at a loss to find, for they are probably now beneath the waves. The termination *ora*, of Coponora, has frequently exercised the mind of the antiquary; and it has been stated to be the equivalent of a landing-place, and Bognor, Keynor, Itchenor, have been adduced in support of this view. But how can *Ore*, in Sussex, near Hastings, high up on the hills, satisfy this signification? We have the words *Cerdicesora* and *Cerdicesford* used in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under circumstances which favour the assumption that one and the same place is meant; and the occurrence of the term *ore* in Bignor, Totnore Hundred, in Sussex, like Windsor or Windlesora, in Berkshire, far from the sea, points more appropriately to the second meaning; which of course includes the former, for where there is a ford there must of necessity be a landing-place. Mr. Stevenson, in his edition of the *Chronicle of Abingdon*, for the Master of the Rolls, explains *ora* to be “a residence”.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, Glossary.

In A.D. 770, I get, also from the Chichester Registers, another grant by King Osmund to Earl Warbald and his wife, Tidburga (whose name resembles Titburga of a deed already mentioned, for perhaps it was a favourite name with Sussex ladies), of land of fifteen manents, at the church of St. Peter, which is situate in the place called Hanefeld. The church of Henfield is dedicated to St. Peter now, and this charter tells us that it has been so dedicated for upwards of eleven hundred years. The witness, Osa, the Archbishop, is the Bosa or Osa, Bishop of Chichester. It is curious, if the charter be genuine, to note that Osmund, King of Sussex, calls Osa an Archbishop. We know that Offa, King of the Mercians, made an Archbishop at Lichfield about the same period; but that Osa was *Archbishop* of Selsey is a new historical fact resting solely on the authority of this charter. The indefatigable Editors of the *Councils*, Haddan and Stubbs, take no notice of this remarkable appellation, although these Editors made a most careful dissection of Kemble's *Codex* from the ecclesiastical point of view.

The second charter of Chichester, which I have been the first to publish, is a grant for life, by Offa, King of the Mercians and of the Angles, to Osuald, Bishop of Chichester, of land at Bixlea; probably not Bexhill, near Hastings, as I formerly thought, but Beckley, north of Hastings, near the Kent boundary. Both places, no doubt, contain, in their first syllable, the eponym of the founder of a tribe, parts of which, on disruption, gave the name to one, and part to the other. The site is specially pointed out as being in "Sudsex", which precludes the idea that Bickley or Bexley, in Kent, was intended. Bishop Osuald is a new name for the episcopal *fasti* of Chichester, *i.e.*, Selsey; but Haddan and Stubbs, without proof, consider him to be the same as the Osa of the previous charter. It is curious to note that the intent of the grant, that, namely, of constructing on the site "a Monastery and Basilica", is identical in phraseology with that found in an earlier charter already described in this collection.

The boundaries include "Baexwarena land", by which we may fairly include both *Bexhill* and *Beckley*, as it designates the territory or district held by the men of the

clan or tribe of Bega or Baeca. Mention is also made, *inter alia*, of “Cneohtha treouue”,—perhaps an error for a word like “Knelle”, close by Beckley; “Laewe”, resembling Lewes, and an early form of this later town; “Kaeia-woorde”, wherein we may trace the same root-word as in Keymer; and the “meare becean” or Mark-Beacon. The gavel-lands appertaining to Bexlea include “Bernahornan”; “Wyrlesham”, in which we may trace the root-word of Wartling and Warbleton; “Ibbanhyste”, now Ewhurst, near Hastings; “Croghyrste”, now Crowhurst, at the back of St. Leonard’s,—a word not referring, as we now learn, to the black bird of evil omen, but to *crug* or *crog* (fen or bog), seen also in Crugland, the early name of Croyland or Crowland in Lincolnshire. Other gavel-lands herein mentioned are “Ikelesham” or Icklesham, near Winchelsea; “Fuccesham”, with which we may compare the name of Foxearle Hundred; and “Gylling”, now probably Guestling, or East Guldeford. This latter place is one of the most interesting of all those mentioned in the document, for there appears to have been a local genius whose name approached very nearly to Guld or Gold. Beckley parish itself is in the Hundred of *Goldspur*; and not far off is the Hundred of *Gostrow*, that is Gold’s-tree,—the tree beneath whose hoary branches the notables of the district undoubtedly assembled. Guestling and Guldeford enshrine this heroic name; and perhaps Guildford, in Surrey, may owe its name to an outlying branch of the clan. The “Cantwara meare”, or boundary of the Kentish men, is also mentioned; and this meets Sussex county at the town of Rye, and follows the river Rother, not far from Beckley.

Want of space compels me to pass over unnoticed the remaining charters of the eighth century relating to Wystrings or Wittering, Chichester, Rotherfield, Hastings, Pevensy, St. Andrew’s Church at Ferring, Gealt-borgstal, St. Peter’s Church (Selsey), Peartingaworth or Petworth, Firololand or Firle (?), with its decoys (*aucupiiis*), and the river Saford, now the Rother, on which Ridresfeld is said to be situate.

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## NOTES ON THE INSCRIBED LEADEN TABLET FOUND AT BATH.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(18th Feb. 1885, and 17th Nov. 1886.)

THE discovery of an incised inscription on lead in Britain is a sufficiently rare circumstance to excite attention among archæologists : a few, however, of the class known as "*Tabulæ honestæ missionis*" are preserved in the British Museum, all of which have been read with certainty, and with a general consensus of those who study these relics; but that on the leaden tablet found at Bath, under circumstances mentioned in *The Athenæum* for the 15th of May 1880, has been variously, and as shown by me in *The Athenæum* last year, incorrectly read hitherto by those who have devoted their attention to it.

The characters (as will be seen on the accompanying photograph, which Mr. C. E. Davis, F.S.A., has kindly enabled the Association to obtain) appear to be a mixture of cursive and rustic letters; and the date may be assigned to a period ranging between the second and fifth century after Christ. The unique manner in which the words are inscribed, viz., each separate word written down in reversed order of letters, is very remarkable, and has led Mr. Davis, Prof. Sayce, Prof. Rhys, and many others, to read the inscription incorrectly; that is, they begin at the *right* hand side of the first line, and read each line consecutively in this way; but the blank space to the right hand of the last line proves that this method is fatal to the true interpretation of the words, although considerable misplaced ingenuity has been expended, and copious abbreviations imagined, in order to twist some kind of meaning out of the text.

The last line, which starts close up to the left hand side, and finishes off about two-thirds of the way towards the right hand side, shows unmistakably that the inscription must be read from left to right, and not from right to left. Prof. Zangemeister, of Heidelberg, and

THE  
LEMOG  
MAE  
ANNINLENSYRE  
XESYNAIREA  
SIATCY-ASVNAIT  
MOG.SYRAINIMSYTAC  
ANNAIRANIVOI





others, read the words according to this manner, but take the commencement of the inscription in an arbitrary way, reading the third word from left to right as MAN-TELIŪ, and conjecturing the fourth word to be INVOLAVIT. This gives the Professor a false clue, which he elaborates into a curse upon nine guests therein named, who are suspected of stealing a tablecloth; whereas the former class of interpreters make out that a certain Quintus received a fee of 500,000 pounds (!) of copper coin for washing a lady named Vilbia! There is not much to choose between the two interpretations, which are as far-fetched as they are, I believe, inaccurate. It will be noticed that I differ from all the readings recorded by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, in his paper, vol. xli, pp. 392 *et seq.*

My desire to obtain a photograph of the plate having been at length courteously gratified by Mr. Davis, to whom, as also to the Corporation of Bath, the Association is much indebted, I have been enabled to inspect the inscription on the lead. The facsimile given in the Berlin *Hermes*<sup>1</sup> shows enough to enable the true import of the inscription to be arrived at. The *lacunæ* in lines 3, 4, do not disappear when the lead itself is examined. There has been an abrasion on the lead in the places. I read the text thus:—

QIHIM . MAIBLIV TIVALOG
VI . CIS TAVQIL OMOG AVQA
ELAT.....VVQMAE TI VA
VL.....ANNIVLEVSVVEREPV
SXESVNNAIRFASVNIREV
ESSILATSVGASVNAITI
MOC SVNAINIMSVTAC
LLINAMREG ANIVOI

The writer, fondly imagining that a reversed order (*cf.* “*Psalmum ..... a fine nescio quo prestigio retrograde ducens*”<sup>2</sup>) of spelling recommended itself to the notice of the avenging deity invoked or addressed (on the back of the tablet?), inscribed his conjuration word by word, beginning at the end of each, and used no contracted

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xv, March 1881.

<sup>2</sup> W. Malm., *Gesta Pontif.*, Rolls ed., p. 295.

forms except Q for *qui*. As he could not get the whole of the fourth word into the first line, he finished it on the second. Similarly the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh lines begin with end-parts of words carried on from the lines respectively above them.

The inscription being thus read, we get an intelligible piece of tragedy far more worthy of an imprecation than the stealing of a tablecloth, and certainly a more important subject for solemn record than the impossibly great fee of a hydropathic doctor. The inscription works out as follows :—

“Q[ui] mihi Vilbiam jugolavit [=jugulavit] sic liquat [=liquatur] com<sup>o</sup> [=comodo, quomodo] aqua. Tale vu[lnus] q[ui] or quæ eam [sa]lvavit [*est* or *fu*it] Velvinna Exsupereus Afri[c]anus Severinus Agustalis Comitianus Minianus Catus Germanilla Jovina.”

“Mihi” evidently refers to Germanilla Jovina. Whether Velvinna was a man or a woman; and if a man, how many of the words following this name are to be taken as his titles, or as names of witnesses, are points not easily decided. “Agustalis” looks like a form of Augustalis; and for “Minianus Catus”, perhaps Catusminianus may be substituted, for the passage admits of either reading.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 17TH NOVEMBER 1886.

REV. PREB. H. M. SCARTH, V.P., M.A., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

- J. P. Pritchett, Esq., 24 High Row, Darlington
- E. Herbert Fison, Esq., Stoke House, Ipswich
- Miss Price, Hooper's Hill House, Margate
- Mrs. Wheeler, Hooper's Hill House, Margate
- Lieut.-Colonel William Long, Newton House, Clevedon, Sussex
- Geo. J. Atkinson, Esq., Town Clerk of Liverpool
- T. Topham, Esq., The Castle Hill, Middleham, Yorkshire
- W. Hodgson, Esq., Clerk to the Guardians, Darlington
- Lieut.-Colonel Wm. Newton, Hill Side, Newark-on-Trent
- L. John Kitching, Esq., Branksome House, Darlington
- Robert Lloyd, Esq., 2 Addison Crescent, W.
- R. Howard White, Esq., Calais Court, Ryarsh, Kent.

J. P. Pritchett, Esq., was also elected Local Member of Council for North Yorkshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

- To the Royal Institute of British Architects*, for "Transactions", vol. ii, New Series. 1886.
- „ „ for "Journal", Nos. 1 and 2, vol. iii.
- „ „ for "Kalendar", 1886-7.
- To the Rev. B. H. Blacker* for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries", Parts 31 and 32.
- To the Cambrian Archæological Association*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fifth Series, Nos. 10 and 11.
- To the Society of Antiquaries*, for "Archæologia", vol. xlix, Part 2.
- „ „ for "Proceedings", vol. xi, Nos. 1 and 2.
- „ „ for "List of Members".

*To the Royal Archæological Institute*, for "Journal", vol. xliii, Nos. 170 and 171.

*To the Powys-Land Club*, for "Collectanea", Part 39. 1886.

*To the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, for "Proceedings", vol. i, Part 1.

*To the Sussex Archæological Society*, for "Archæological Collections", vol. xxxiv.

*To the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*, for "Journal", vol. vii, No. 64.

*To the Royal Commission of Victoria*, for "Illustrated Handbook of Victoria, Australia."

*To the Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Mass., U.S.A.*, for "Ancient and Modern Methods of Arrow Release."

*To the Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society*, for "Proceedings", 1885.

*To the Glasgow Arch. Society*, for "Transactions", New Series, vol. i, Part 2.

*To Horatio Hale, Clinton, Ontario, Canada*, for "The Origin of Languages", etc. Address, Aug. 1886.

The decease of Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs, F.S.A., of Great Yarmouth, of Mrs. Newton of Newark, and of Mr. J. Tom Burgess, F.S.A., of Leamington, was announced with regret. It is hoped that biographical notices of these and other members will be laid before the Association at an early date.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a coloured sketch of a crucifix, by the late Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs, found at Binham, Norfolk, and drawings of a mediæval cup and carved bracelet.

Admiral Tremlett sent a plan of a curious chambered sepulchre which has been recently found at Carnac. There are three chambers, roughly approaching to a circular form on plan, connected by two passages; one of the chambers being central, and the others at each end of the passages. The latter are inclined at about an angle of forty-five degrees from each other. The sides are formed of stone slabs set on edge, and the covering has been by a similar system; but only a few of the slabs thus forming the roof remain in position. The remains are all but filled in with accumulated earth.

Mr. Brock also exhibited a series of terra-cotta figures, some being *penates*; while others had been, doubtless, intended for children's playthings. They were found at Cyprus.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited two ivory ornaments for the ear, from the Zulu country.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., reported the impending destruction of the famous Roman tombs at High Rochester.

Mr. Brock stated that he was in communication with the owner of



the property on which these tombs stand, and hoped to be able to save some portions at least of them.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a photograph of the inscribed Roman leaden tablet found at Bath, which had been kindly placed in his hands by Mr. C. E. Davis, F.S.A., Architect to the Bath Corporation, for the purposes of illustrating the *Journal*. Notices of this object will be found in vol. xli, p. 392, and at p. 410 of the present volume.

The Chairman exhibited a series of sketches of Roman and Saxon remains at Gainford and Darlington. Among them is a portion of a Roman monument which represents a hunter carrying something in his hand which appears to be game. There is a horse's head at the side.

Mrs. M. Henery, of Keswick, communicated a sketch of ancient stone remains of the British period, about half way up Helvellyn, on the bridle-path from Withburn, and also sent some stone weapons and other relics which she had picked up on the site. The place itself abounds with broken tiles or bricks.

Mr. Birch exhibited a series of drawings by Mr. J. T. Irvine of Peterborough, and read the following schedule of them:—

“Two sketches of fragments, of Saxon date, used as wall-stones in the tower of Barnack Church. Since the account of Barnack Church tower was read before the Society, these have been discovered in the west wall: one, some four courses below the first cornice in the external face; the second, inside the same wall, at a somewhat lower level. Both may be fragments of the same cross: that outside, of an arm; that inside, part of the shaft (?). On the drawing of the outside fragment, to the right, is seen another stone divided by incised lines, as if part of the stem of the cross of a burial-slab. All these stones, with the general wall-faces in which they are found, were originally covered with a thick coat of Saxon plastering, now by decay outwardly removed; and inwardly, at the time of its restoration to sight, from the nave. The interest of these fragments is found in the bearing they have on the question of attributing the tower's erection to the early age of Bishop Wilfrid, or to the later period of the Confessor.

“Two sketches of monumental slabs. The first is from a church pulled down some years ago at Sawtry in Huntingdonshire. It lies at present, among other old materials, in a builder's yard at Peterborough. The second is from the south aisle of St. Mary's Church, Whittlesea, in Cambridgeshire. When, some years ago, the church underwent repairs, under the direction of the late Sir G. G. Scott, R.A., the broken fragments were found among the earth underneath the floor of the south aisle. Sir Gilbert had these fragments (probably the monument of the founder of the aisle) placed in order on the flat

sill of the west window of that aisle, where they now remain. Both slabs are very beautiful specimens.

"Sketch of Saxon fragments found at Market Deeping Church, in Lincolnshire, on the banks of the Welland. The section of one fragment seems to suggest that it may have been part of a stone coffin intended to stand entirely above the floor or ground-level.

"On the same sheet is a curious fragment of a later monumental slab, from the same place."

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited a large collection of photographs which he had lately brought from Rome. These consist of specimens of Roman architectural antiquities and early Christian sarcophagi. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Brock and Mr. Birch took part; and Mr. J. Romilly Allen said that it was impossible to rightly understand Christian symbolism, as seen in English antiquities, without studying the earlier sculptures in the catacombs and museums at Rome, from which it springs.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, then read a

#### SUMMARY OF THE CONGRESS AT DARLINGTON AND DURHAM.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER*.

It is proposed to take a short retrospect of our forty-third Congress, which was opened at Darlington by a learned and comprehensive address from the Bishop of Durham on Monday the 26th of July 1886, in the Reference Room of the Free Library, where we had been cordially received and welcomed by the Mayor of Darlington, J. K. Wilkes, Esq., and the Corporation.

Midst the historical recollections of Durham county, the battlefield of border warfare, and studded with the castles of its defenders and warlike men, it would be a slight upon the Right Rev. Prelate, our President, if we omitted to give prominence to the literary aspect of Durham history, for which it has been conspicuous through many past ages, even from the days of Bishop Wilfrith and the accomplished Saxon monarch, King Alfred of Northumbria.

Leaving the churches of Darlington to be referred to hereafter, we journeyed on Tuesday morning to Durham city, and after crossing an ancient bridge over the Wear, wended our way up the wooded holm below the walls of the Galilee into the Cathedral, which looks down from a height upon the river flowing round the base of the hill. A large party attended divine service in this, perhaps, the grandest of our cathedral churches; and afterwards the *notabilia* were pointed out by the Very Rev. the Dean and the Ven. Archdeacon Watkins, assisted by Mr. C. Hodgson-Fowler, the Cathedral architect, and the Rev. Dr. Hooppell. Canon Greenwell exhibited MSS. of Bede, Cassiodorus,

and others of the seventh and eighth centuries; and in the Library were seen relics from St. Cuthbert's grave, when it was opened by Dr. Raine;<sup>1</sup> and besides these were shown Roman inscriptions and early sculptured stones from Hexham and other places in Northumbria.

In the afternoon, many of the party who did not care to spend the whole time in the Museum, among the relics of Roman Vinovia, partook of the kind hospitality of the Dean and Mrs. Lake at a garden-party at the Deanery, a portion of the ancient monastic buildings. This was after the Castle had been inspected and described by Mr. Fowler.

On the return to Darlington another entertainment, in the form of a *conversazione*, was prepared for the party by Mr. Theodore Fry, M.P., and Mrs. Fry, at their residence at Woodburn, not far from the town, where a rich collection of antiquities from the neighbourhood was exhibited, pronounced by Sir James Picton (no mean authority) to be the finest he had seen in private hands.

In the mean time let us revert to the Cathedral and the Castle at Durham. A learned divine of the present century, author of the *Bibliographical Decameron* and *Bibliomania*, has some interesting remarks on three of the Prince-Bishops of the Palatinate of Durham. I will reproduce a few passages of his on Bishops Pudsey, Bec, and De Bury, from *The Northern Tour*, and then, with your permission, will bring forward these *vates sacri* to show how their literary culture, architectural proficiency, and wide experience, were the means of impressing the hearts of men, in a cosmopolitan sense, with the privileges and comforts of Christianity, which could only have been partially effected by the anchorites and self-denying men who in previous ages had worked for the same end, though along somewhat different lines:—

“A better man than Pudsey cannot lead the way,—an architect, a financier, a politician, a patron of the ingenious and deserving, a bibliomaniac. Besides the number of goodly houses built and added to the see by this great Prelate, he largely endowed the Priory of Finchale,<sup>2</sup> founded by his son Henry, and the Hospitals of Sherburn and Allerton; built a church and parsonage-house at Darlington; purchased the rich manor of Sidburgh, and gave it to the see; built the Galilee and north door of the Cathedral; built Elvet Bridge, with a restoration of the burgh of Elvet to the city of Durham. He repaired

<sup>1</sup> An account of this, by the Rev. James Raine, was published in a thin quarto volume in 1821. His numerous works on the ancient history of Northumbria are a rich store of materials for the guidance of future archaeologists.

<sup>2</sup> The charters of endowment, inventories, and account-rolls of this Priory are extant in unusual number, and have been printed by the Surtees Society in 1837. Our late Secretary, Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., has given a full account of the Priory in *Journal*, xxiii, p. 67.

and strengthened the Castle of Northallerton, now the shadow of a relic; and added the keep to Norham Castle. He granted the first charter to the citizens of Durham, and incorporated the boroughs of Gateshead and Sunderland. His endowment of Sherburn Hospital was upon the most munificent scale."

So far Dr. Dibdin. The funeral of Hugh Pudsey, who died in 1194, was commensurate, in point of external splendour, with the high estimation in which he was held, and the details are not a little interesting.

"Anthony Bec", says Dibdin, "was just the man for the glowing eloquence of the pen of Surtees, who must have groaned in spirit at being compelled to narrow his sketch of him to four pages only." Bec, "the most valiant clerk in the kingdom, may be called the episcopal Bonaparte of his time. He was King of the Isle of Man, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Bishop and Count Palatine, and issued his mandate to the Palatinate for the raising of 500 soldiers to accompany Edward II into Scotland. Bec died in 1310, having been twenty-eight years Bishop of Durham, and five years Patriarch of Jerusalem."

"Of a far different complexion to either of the preceding", continues Dibdin, "was my very old and very good friend, Richard de Bury,<sup>1</sup> who was installed in 1333, and died in 1345. He was tutor to the Black Prince, Lord High Chancellor, and Treasurer of England; and a man in all way before his time in largeness of understanding and diversity and elegance of intellectual pursuits. Instead of marshalling 160 men-at-arms, he would prefer marshalling 160 *folio volumes*, and openly declared upon the bench, that the only bribe which found a ready way to his heart was in the shape of a 'boke'."<sup>2</sup>

The Rev. Doctor and bibliomaniac had no space to treat at length of Bishops Fox and Tonstall, "truly great men in their day, lovers and collectors of fine books upon vellum as well as upon paper; and the latter was the author of the first treatise upon arithmetic published in this country (1519, 4to.).

As the present Cathedral fabric does not date before the Conquest, I have begun by mentioning those mediæval Bishops who contributed to its construction or adornment. Some of the glass windows which light up the interior of the building convey to us in the most agreeable

<sup>1</sup> His seal is figured in the *Journal*, vol. xxii, p. 396, in which is also a copious memoir of the Bishop by W. Sidney Gibson.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and Scotland* (London, 1838), by the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, D.D., vol. i, p. 261 *et seq.*; in which will also be found some account of Surtees, the historian of the county of Durham, "almost as happy in verse as in prose"; and of the learned Society bearing his name, who have edited so many historical works connected with this county.



manner glimpses into the history of previous times, which shall be afterwards referred to; but further contributors to the hallowed shrine should in the meantime be named, as Richard Poore, the famed Bishop of Salisbury, who was translated from thence to Durham, and to whom is due the merit of erecting, together with Prior Melsonby, the nine altars begun in 1242. Among other literary contributors should not be forgotten Simeon the Monk and Precentor, and Robert de Grey-stanes, from both of whom we derive much of our historical knowledge of the see in early times. Nor must Prior Hugh be omitted, who added to and completed the central tower of the Cathedral.

Bishop Pudsey (Hugo de Putiaco), who flourished at the end of King Stephen's reign, and was related to that Monarch by family ties, had much to do with the origin of the present Cathedral; but it must not be forgotten that one of his predecessors, Richard Flambard, who died in 1128, had built the nave-walls up to the vaulting, of which the foundations had been laid by William de Carilef, one of the clergy of Bayeux in Normandy, in 1093. Ten years before this he had introduced Benedictine monks from Jarrow and Wearmouth; and Aldwin, the first Abbot of the new foundation, took possession of the previously existing church in 1083.

The history of the church and monastery has been given by Mr. Gordon M. Hills at length in vol. xxii, p. 197, of our *Journal*, and that of Chester-le-Street, in its connection with St. Cuthbert, by the Rev. Henry Blane, in the same volume, at p. 22; and the history of St. Cuthbert and his patrimony, by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, F.S.A., at p. 420; all written on the occasion of the visit to Durham by this Association in 1865. I will, therefore, do no more than name some of the earlier worthies of the church as portrayed in the beautiful coloured glass windows. Firstly, in that of the northern transept, known as "The Window of the Four Doctors", made by Prior Fossor, who died in 1374, and repaired by Prior Castell at a later period. In the eastern and western lights are figured the four Doctors of the Church, SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome. Further glimpses of some of the early Church worthies are conveyed in the glass of the Galilee, filled in by Bishop Langley, who was buried there, before the Chapel of the Virgin Mary, in 1437, he himself having added much work to this beautiful prolongation of the Cathedral towards the west.

These windows superseded others of an earlier date, on which details of history were more particularly recorded. In the middle light of one window, at the top, are St. Cuthbert and St. Bede to the north, and St. Aidan to the south; then Bishops Aldwin, Edmund, and Eata of Lindisfarne. In another are seen St. Oswald, St. Wilfrith, and St. Chad. In a fourth window are the three royal benefactors, Alured, Guthred, and Elfrid; and three Bishops of Lindisfarne below, St. Godfrid, St. Æthelwold, and another.



The Bishops Aldwin, Edmund, and Eata of Lindisfarne, are good representative men of their century, striving to extend the influence of Christianity by a more powerful organisation than was possible for a St. Aidan, St. Cuthbert, or St. Guthlac, though the lives of these hermits, written by their successors, have had no little influence in extending the faith; and if the miracles once supposed to have been wrought by their bones and relics no longer obtain credence, yet the great miracle remains of the extension of the faith in spite of all human obstacles. Historically and archæologically much may be learnt from the written lives of such men, and the pictures by which they are illustrated, both as to armour and costume as well as architecture. One of these, that of St. Guthlac of Croyland, is an instance for the eleventh century of events occurring in the seventh.<sup>1</sup> In this, as in the lives of hermits generally, whether of St. Guthlac or St. Martin, the hermit is found to have begun his career as a soldier in the army before taking to an ascetic life. The homage paid to such a life is seen in the visit paid by King Æthelbald to St. Guthlac in his hermitage,—a King under whose influence Mercia was destined to take the lead of the other Saxon kingdoms in the eighth century. His zeal for the faith and advancement of the Church, however applauded it might be by Pope Boniface, did not prevent the Sovereign Pontiff from sending him a letter of reproof for his too often repeated gallantries, as King, with nuns devoted to the service of God. The letter is still extant.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, in his history of Durham Cathedral, has pictured its appearance when rich in the furniture and ornamentation constantly added to and kept up by the contributions of the faithful before the Reformation. To his account I must refer for a description of the shrine of St. Cuthbert, behind the high altar, of the elaborate altar-screen, of the paschal with its numerous candlesticks, of the altar of the Virgin Mary in the central avenue of the Galilee at the west end, of the much talked of stone in the pavement, beyond which no woman was allowed to pass into the church; and of the numerous coloured glass windows which shed a tinge of religious sadness over the whole.

A great part of these have vanished, and even the stone memorials of the dead, which adorned the nave, have perished, for only two mutilated tombs remain: one in the eastern arch of the Neville Chantry, of the fifteenth century, on which are a male and female effigy reduced to mere trunks. “Lord Ralph Nevill<sup>3</sup> and Alicia his wife had

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of St. Guthlac of Crowland*, edited by Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A. Wisbech, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the letter will be found in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. i, p. 247 (A D. 745).

<sup>3</sup> The hero of Nevill's Cross victory. Grandfather of the first Earl of Westmoreland.

been interred in the church in 1367 and 1374, and a licence to remove the bodies to the south side of the nave was obtained in 1416. Over them", continues Mr. Gordon M. Hills, "it is to be presumed the tomb was then erected." On the other tomb, less disfigured, but the effigies greatly mutilated, is that of Lord John Nevill, the builder of the Nevill Screen, and of his first wife, Maud Percy.

Once were preserved in the Cathedral the Black Rood taken from King David of Scotland, and the banner of St. Cuthbert, which had often led to victory the men-at-arms, under their fendal chieftains, in this county of Durham.

The name of Nevill, which was stamped upon the victory gained over the Scots at Nevill's Cross, recalls to memory two other great battles against the Scots, which had previously been fought, with intervals of two centuries between each. I allude first to the battle of Brunanburh, fought in Saxon Northumbria, when King Athelstan overcame Aulaf or Olave, King of Dublin, who had increased his army by a large body of Scots and Danes, and entered the mouth of the Humber. His cousin, of the same name, the son of Godfrey, was there also; and these allies lost five young kings, killed by the sword, and seven generals of the Danes. This event was in the year 937.

The second conflict referred to was that at Northallerton, when David, King of Scots, invaded, and King Stephen, with his brave son, Prince Henry, had to withstand the attack, which he did so successfully, that of all his knights he lost only one, the brother of Gilbert de Lacy. William Consul, of Albemarle, commanded in chief, and there were in the fight William Piperell of Nottingham, Walter Especk, and Gilbert de Lacy. The Scots were said to have lost 11,000 men. This event was in 1138; and the next was at Nevill's Cross, or the Battle of Red Hills, about a mile west of Durham, fought in the year 1346, when King David of Scotland was taken prisoner. This was the retaliation for the raid made by David Bruce upon Durham in the reign of Edward II, when a part of the city was destroyed by fire.

I have referred to these three as decisive battles; but for raids and skirmishes under their romantic aspect, the pictured pages of Sir Walter Scott should be read again and again, and the story of *The Scottish Chiefs*, by Miss Jane Porter, almost the earliest of our historical novel-writers, and one of the best.

Mr. G. Sim announced to the Numismatic Society the finding of a hoard of silver coins at Aberdeen in May last, consisting of 12,236 pieces, among which were 11,741 English pennies of Edward I, II, and III. It would be curious if some of these could be traced to the mint of Durham, as to which see paper by J. B. Bergne, F.S.A., in *Journal*, xxii, p. 266.

On leaving the Cathedral we were struck by the juxtaposition of its

neighbour, Durham Castle, once enclosed within a wall on the same eminence, the two presenting a rare combination of the military and ecclesiastical power of the prince Bishops of Durham. The history of the Castle has been written by the Rev. George Ormsby in *Journal*, xxii, p. 46. The building passed into the hands of the University of Durham in 1837; and may it long maintain the character for learning which it may be said to have inherited from Anglo-Saxon ancestors, and from the wise King Alfred of Northumbria, and the learned Bishops, to some of whom reference has been made.

It would be interesting to know more than we do about the White House which was first built on the spot where the Cathedral now stands, to receive the bones of St. Cuthbert in or about A.D. 999, which bones had been cruelly chased by the Danes from Lindisfarne to Crayke in Yorkshire, from thence to Chester-le-Street, and finally to their permanent resting-place at Durham; the saint having died at Lindisfarne in 687, and having been first buried in Farne Island. The name of White House seems to indicate a church of stone such as Benedict Biscop introduced at Wearmouth in 674, *Romano more*, in opposition to the timber-built churches of the Scots, which would probably have been covered with pitch, or some dark-coloured paint, for protection.

The church of the Monastery of Jarrow (Girvii), two miles from South Shields, founded in 685 by King Egfrith of Northumberland, reflects equal credit on the English builder and Benedict Biscop. The learned Bede, whose bones have found a last resting-place in Durham Cathedral, has kept alive a record of the transactions of this century in his history, composed at Wearmouth, and dedicated to King Ceolwulf. This has earned for him the epithet of "Venerable", which stamps the favourable verdict of antiquity upon his writings. In them we learn how Eata was appointed first Abbot over the new Monastery of Ripon, where St. Cuthbert filled the post of hospitaller, or entertainer of the guests; the former being afterwards made Bishop of Lindisfarne, and the latter Prior of Melrose.

Bede may well be placed among Dr. Dibdin's bibliomaniacs. In a time of much controversy between the local native church and the organisation of Rome he did not undervalue the merits of St. Aidan, who had removed the see of Northumbria from York to Lindisfarne, and who had been of the school of St. Columba and the church of Iona; but neither the writings of Bede, nor the council held at Whitby (*Streans-Heale*) in 664, to settle the disputes with the Scottish and Irish Churches as to the mode of fixing Easter Day in the calendar, and of deciding the form and position of the tonsure on the heads of priests, could prevent the resort to arms by Egfrith, King of Northumberland, in this century. He defeated the Picts, and is found

invading Mercia in 679, and Ireland in 684, meeting with his death in battle at Drumnechtan in Scotland.

It is interesting to see how the road across Mercia and Wales, by Chester and Carnarvon, was kept open and frequented, since the time of the Romans, for access to Ireland. It was often a means of repelling in Ireland, by a land-army, the Danes and Norwegians, by alliance with the native Irish when not strong enough to repel the attacks of those foreigners on the eastern coasts of England, from the want of a combined navy.

Bede gives an interesting account of Irish character in his day, which is not very different from what Tacitus had formerly written of that nation. Bede's words in relation to Ecgfrith's invasion of Ireland are, "*miserè gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicam vastavit*". Alfred, eldest but illegitimate son of this King, used all his literary powers to promote Christianity when he came to be King of Northumbria, 684-728. He had been educated under Bishop Wilfrith, and his learning procured him the friendship of the famous Bishop Aldhelm.

The names of the churches, in the order in which they were visited, shall now be passed in review. Architecture has nowhere better illustrated the actions of the past than it has at this Congress, under the direction of Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, and Sir James Picton, F.S.A., assisted by the clergy and local antiquaries, well qualified to treat of the subject, even though the opinions expressed have not always been in complete unison.

From Darlington, on the first day, visits were paid to the churches of Aycliffe and Haughton-le-Skerne. At the former the party was received by the Rev. G. Eade, and at both churches we had the benefit of the observations of Mr. Dyer Longstaffe, the historian, who showed how the work of Bishop Pudsey at Aycliffe passed from pure Norman, through the transitional period, to the Early English; and besides these, it contained excellent examples of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles. He recommended that two Saxon crosses, now in the churchyard, should be brought under cover for their protection.

Mr. Longstaffe also described Haughton-le-Skerne Church, and showed that Sadberge, now a chapelry of Haughton, had formerly been the capital of the district, and had given its name to the Wapentake. Sir James Picton, in reference to the successive alterations in the church, remarked that "architecture was an open book which those who could read it would understand." Many such books have of late years been opened to the archæologist, and well did the President say in his opening address, that "archæology is every day assuming a more scientific attitude, and is removing those blemishes which attached to the days of its youth." It has left off spelling, and is now beginning to read.



The church of St. Cuthbert's, at Darlington, with its tower and spire rising to the height of 180 feet, was one of the important foundations of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, and was described by our Local Secretary, Mr. J. P. Pritchett. An appropriate sermon was preached in this parish church, on the Sunday following, by the Rev. Canon Hodgson, Vicar of Witton-le-Wear.

The proceedings of Tuesday did not admit of other churches being visited than the Cathedral.

On Wednesday the excursion was up the beautiful valley of the Tees, and visits were paid to the churches at Gainford and Staindrop, to that at Barnard Castle, and to the ruins of Egglestone Abbey.

At Gainford Sir James Picton and Mr. J. P. Pritchett described the architecture; and Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock remarked that there were in this district, perhaps, more Early English churches than in any other; and he pointed out the flatness of the roofs as a remarkable feature.

At Staindrop (or Stane-thorp, the stone village), the Rev. H. A. Lipscombe, M.A., Rector, read a historical account of the sacred edifice, which he said might be called the church of the Nevills, as the chiefs of the family worshipped and were buried there. Among the many ancient monuments, that in alabaster, to Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmoreland, stands conspicuous. He is represented in complete armour, his head resting upon his helmet, with a lion placed at his feet. On the right and left sides are figures of his two wives; the first being Margaret, daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford; the second, Joan, daughter of John of Gaunt, who is buried with her mother, Catherine Swynford, in Lincoln Cathedral.

The ruins of Egglestone Abbey, near Barnard Castle, were described by Mr. J. P. Pritchett, the foundation being ascribed to Præmonstratensian or White Canons, who first came to this country in about 1140.

While stopping on the site where Rokeby Castle once stood, now built into a modern mansion at the junction of the Greta river with the Tees, the ruined tower of Mortham, on the opposite side of the river, still stands as the ancient landmark to the poem of Sir Walter Scott; and the Rere Cross far away in the distance, in the direction of Stane Moor, points to a tract of waste land deriving its name from Balder, the Norwegian god,—

“Beneath the shade the Northmen came,  
Fix'd on each vale a Runic name.”

The excursions on Thursday were to radiate from Bishop Auckland, where the Congress party was to be entertained by the President in his episcopal palace or castle, and which was done with right princely hospitality.



The parish church of Auckland claims our first notice, upon which observations were made by Mr. Brock, Dr. Hooppell, and Sir James Picton. The edifice is cruciform, and said to be the largest parish church in the diocese, measuring internally 157 feet in length, and the width across the transepts being about half the extreme length. Its characteristics are of the Early English period; but Mr. Brock pointed out that there were evidences of the building at different dates, and even "some Saxon stonework had been discovered during the recent restoration, and some of it was the most delicate that had been seen on this side of the Humber."

St. Helen's, Auckland, a small rural church, bears externally and internally all the evidence of great antiquity.

Dr. Hooppell undertook the description of the Saxon church at Escombe; and its early origin was only discovered some seven or eight years ago. It is described by the Rev. Dr. G. F. Browne as the best preserved Romanesque building in England, next to the church at Bradford-on-Avon. A sculptured fragment in its walls shows "the interlaced bands like the intertwined snakes at Monkwearmouth", and in the Saxon church of Britford, near Salisbury; all which, and many more such carvings, are figured in juxtaposition, for comparison, in the remarks on the "Remains of the Original Church of St. Peter, Monkwearmouth", by the Rev. Dr. G. F. Browne. Mr. Longstaffe knows nothing equal to this church at Escombe in interest. Its diminutive size is remarkable. A striking feature in the walls are the massive quoins at the angles, with alternating faces and edges somewhat after the manner of long and short work. Mr. C. Roach Smith remarked as to this church, that it indicated not only Roman material, but even Roman influence.

At Auckland Castle, His Lordship the President entered at length into details of the building, formerly known as "The Bishop's Manor-House". It might have been an episcopal residence at an earlier date than 1183; but as to that year there was definite proof. It was one of the popular residences of the Bishops of Durham, who at one time had six castles and eight manor-houses; but the principal residences were at Auckland and Durham.

On Friday an excursion was made into Yorkshire, and visits to the parish church of Richmond, to a tower of the Grey Friars Monastery, and to the remains of a Præmonstratensian Priory, Easby Abbey. Mr. Brock described the church of St. Mary's at Richmond, and the Castle hard by, said to have been originally founded by Alan Rufus, Earl of Brittany and Richmond, in 1071. The early tower of the keep is a noble specimen of architecture, with walls of extraordinary thickness. The tower of the Grey Friars was explained by him. It was founded as late as 1257, by Ralph Fitz-Randolph, lord of Middleham.

Easby Abbey was founded in 1152, by Ronald, Constable of Richmond Castle, and dedicated to St. Agatha.

The remarkable locality visited on Saturday is much interwoven with the history of the county. A greater contrast can hardly be seen than that presented by Darlington town, whence we set out in the morning, bustling with commercial activity, compared with the still, pastoral scene of the half-isle of Sockburn, nearly insulated by the winding of the river Tees, which sweeps round its pleasant meadows, forming a sort of Campus Martius up to Dinsdale, on the Tees bank. "Two families of ancient gentry, and the little female Monastery of Nesham, possessed the whole of this green peninsula"; the family of Conyers, and that of Surtees at Dinsdale.

We had visited Croft Church and Hurworth Church, passing through Nesham to the ruined church of Sockburn. By favour of Sir Edward Blackett, Bart., of Sockburn Hall, we were shown the falchion presented at the ford over the Tees, or on Croft Bridge, to every new Bishop of Durham on his first entering the principality, in commemoration of its having been the instrument with which a large wyvern, worm, or serpent, had been slain by an early ancestor of the family of Conyers, lord of the manor, and now represented by Sir Edward Blackett, Bart. The legend savours much of those circulated in the thirteenth century, yet coloured with the reflex of antecedent history. The Norwegian invasions and occupations could hardly be signified under a more appropriate emblem than that of a serpent. Winged serpents and dragons are characteristic of the oldest carvings for adornment of Romanesque and Anglo-Saxon churches. Witness the many sculptured remains seen during this Congress, and those already referred to by Dr. G. F. Browne, who also points to the ornamentation of the beautiful MS. in the British Museum called the Lindisfarne Gospels,—a book still stained with the salt water from its immersion by the monks who fled with it before the Danes, and dating from the time when those who wrote and illustrated it set their names at the end. The falchion and heraldic emblems upon it prove the date to be not earlier than the thirteenth century.

The fatal day for the Norwegians in England was that when the great battle was won by Athelstan on the plain of Brunanburh, to which reference has already been made; but no one has yet succeeded in identifying the locality. Mr. Scott Surtees, of the Manor-House, Dinsdale, who entertained our party, and gave an interesting account of the antiquities around, would fix Brunanburh on the plain of Sockburn; and as King Olave came up the Humber, and thence northward to York, this spot for the battle is not an improbable one, though I fear there is not enough known to fix the locality with certainty. What Mr. Surtees has said as to evidences of name is not so convincing as the general concurrence of circumstances.

Brunanburgh, if meaning "the burgh of hot springs" in modern German, must be shown to have this meaning in Anglo-Saxon. I find nothing nearer than *brynan*, to burn, and *brynan*, the word for chain-mail, either of which may have been in some way connected with the battle, though such derivations must be inconclusive. Mr. Scott Surtees has given interesting particulars of Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and mediæval remains found in his neighbourhood, in the *Journal* for this year, p. 76.

At the excursion to Wensleydale, on Monday, the churches visited from Northallerton were those of Aysgarth, Leyburn, Wensley, and Middleham; some of these containing interesting rood-screens and stall-ends from the Abbeys of Jervaulx and Easby, and sculptured Anglo-Saxon stones.

The small church of Redmire, an ancient one of the eleventh century, has not been restored, which cannot be said of Middleham Church; which, however, is still interesting as one of the few of Perpendicular character seen at this Congress, and one of the many which were founded as collegiate churches: and this was not disestablished at the Reformation.

This was the last official day of the Congress. Let us now retrace our steps among the castles which command the valleys of the Tyne, Wear, and Tees, though as they have mostly been described in detail by members of this Society on their visit to Durham twenty-one years since, I will very briefly refer to some of the buildings and their occupants.

Northward of Durham, on the Wear, stands the town of Chester-le-Street, and near it Lumley Castle, the ancient seat of the Lumleys, descended from Lialphus the Saxon, who was slain in the fourteenth year of King William I. Sir Robert de Lumley, who married the heiress of Thweng, died in the twelfth of Edward III (1338). Ralph was summoned to Parliament as Baron in 1385, under Richard II. The portraits of these and others of the family were painted for the Castle by order of John Baron Lumley, who died April 11, 1609. The anachronisms of the armour and costume have been clearly and concisely pointed out by the late Mr. J. R. Planché, as well as the confusion and misappropriation of the stone effigies of several members of the family in the church of Chester-le-Street.<sup>1</sup>

Southward of Durham, on the banks of the Wear, among the hills, is Brancepeth Castle, built by the Bulmers, and added to the great possessions of the Nevills of Raby by the marriage of a daughter of Robert Bulmer to Galfrid Nevill in the reign of Henry II.<sup>2</sup> In the church, dedicated to St. Brandon, is an ancient figure, 7 feet 9 inches

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, xxii, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> "On the Norman Ancestry of the Nevills", see *Journal*, xxii, p. 279.

long, generally received as that of Robert Nevill,<sup>1</sup> slain at Berwick in 1319; and the tomb of Ralph Lord Nevill<sup>2</sup> and his wife, *circa* 1484, with their effigies carved in oak.

At Bishop Auckland, south of Durham, the Bishops have had their residential Castle since the times of Anthony le Bec. On the same river Wear, near to its source, are the Castles of Wilton and Stanhope; and the famous Abbeys of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow occupy the north and south banks of the same river, near its outflow into the German Ocean. Thence, pursuing the coast of Durham southward, the peninsula is arrived at near which was seated the Convent of Hartlepool; and a few miles south of this, again, is the mouth of the Tees river, which forms the southern boundary of the county.

Let us follow the Tees river up stream towards its source. The Skerne river runs into it, upon which Darlington is situated; and beyond this point and Piers Bridge, up the beautiful Tees valley, Barnard Castle appears on the north; and Rokeby Castle once stood on the south of the river, towards Stane Moor and the old boundary cross of Reare.

Barnard Castle is placed on the brink of a steep rock, about 80 perpendicular feet above the Tees, according to Leland; but Will. Howitt, on the contrary, says that it "standeth on a plain". This is mentioned to show the advantage of going to see for ourselves. The cognizance of the boar of Richard III, carved in the masonry, proclaims the work of that Monarch, who resided much here; but his must be the latest part of the building, which was originally founded by Barnard Baliol, son of Guy, in Norman times, and remained in the family until the attainder of John Baliol, King of Scotland, when it was granted by Edward I to Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Richard Duke of Gloucester came into possession by right of his wife, the Lady Anne, daughter of Richard Nevill, "the King-Maker", by Anne, sister and heir to Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick. Some 6½ acres of ruins are all that remain of this "great, grey, and stately feudal castle", as W. Howitt terms it, and "the fitting abode of the mighty Nevills".

Staindrop and Raby Castles next appear on each side of a small river which flows into the Tees. The old towers of Raby, the courts,

<sup>1</sup> Elder brother of Ralph Lord Nevill of Nevill's Cross.

<sup>2</sup> Grandson of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Hotspur. This is Stoddart's opinion; but Howitt is inclined to consider the effigies as those of Ralph himself, the first Earl, and of Margaret his first wife; which seems the most probable for the reasons given by Henry J. Swallow in his work, *The House of Nevill in Sunshine and Shade* (1885), to which I am indebted for much monumental and historical information. See account of Brancepeth Church, by C. Hodgson Fowler, in *Journal*, xxii, p. 272. The Royal Archæological Institute visited this among other places in this county, at their Newcastle Congress in 1884; as to which, see their *Transactions*.



the great baronial hall, and the kitchen, are the objects of antiquarian interest; for the rest has been modernised, and made habitable. The initials, B. B., of Bertram Bulmer, on one of the towers, recall perhaps the name of a member of the family connected by marriage with the Nevill family. Another tower bears the name of Joan, second wife of the first Earl of Westmoreland, whose alabaster effigy is in the church of Staindrop, as before mentioned, in complete armour, and conspicuous among the dead as was the living Earl among the members of a long line of ancestry and successors. Howitt says "we can almost imagine the royal Joan walking with her maidens on the green terrace that surrounds Raby Castle; or the first great Earl of Westmoreland, Ralph Nevill, setting out with all his train to scour its wide chases and dales for the deer, or to proceed to the Marches to chastise the Scots." By his two wives he had twenty-three children. By his first wife, Margaret, a long line of the Earls of Westmoreland; by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of "time-honoured Lancaster", John of Gaunt, and sister of Henry IV, he became the founder of three illustrious families, Salisbury, Latimer, and Bergavenny, and grandfather of Richard Nevill, "the King-Maker". The Salisburys failed in the Wars of the Roses; the Latimers owed their extinction to their advocacy of the rising in the North in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The family of Abergavenny is still flourishing.

The Castle was described by the Rev. J. H. Hodgson and the Rev. Prebendary Scarth. It had been built by John Nevill in about 1349, and was purchased by Sir Henry Vane in the reign of James I, from whom it has descended to the Dukes of Cleveland, its present possessors. The ballad of "Langley Dale", by Surtees, gives an interest to the park and its surroundings, which are not lost upon William Howitt, who quotes the poem in his picturesque description of Raby and Brancepeth Castles.<sup>1</sup>

Though outside the confines of Durham county, yet on the last official day of the Congress, Middleham Castle, near Richmond, was visited as being one of the Yorkshire strongholds which even outshone those which have been described. It was the home of the Warwick branch of the Nevills, and especially of Richard Nevill, "the King-Maker." The name of the place, as "Medelai", is in *Domesday*; and without going into the question of the supposed builders of the keep, generally assigned to Robert Fitz-Randolph, third lord of Middleham, we may survey with astonishment the vast envelope, as it were, or oblong fortress, 210 feet by 175 feet, which surrounds the keep. It came to the Nevills by the marriage of Mary of Middleham with Robert

<sup>1</sup> *Visits to Remarkable Places*, Second Series, 1842, p. 501.





de Nevill, who was buried at Coverham Abbey in 1271. The property was settled upon her grandson, Robert Nevill, "the Peacock of the North"; but as he died without issue, in his grandmother's lifetime, his brother Ralph succeeded to the estate, which then descended to his son John de Nevill, who built Raby, and was buried in Durham Cathedral. His son became the Earl of Westmoreland; and this Earl was the last of the Nevills, of the older line, who died seized of Middleham and its dependencies. It then went to the Salisbury branch of the Nevills, and fell to Richard Earl of Warwick, "the King-Maker." In its halls many of the dark scenes in the Wars of the Roses, and in the life of Richard III, were premeditated. Here Edward IV was a guest or a prisoner; and here the bastard Falconbridge was beheaded. It is a noble pile of ruins, and in its decay has fared better than the remains of Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire; another Yorkist castle, where not one stone remains upon another, but which played a prominent part in the times we have been discussing (that is, of the Wars of the Roses), and which was the residence, during the long years of her widowhood, of Cicely Nevill, "the Rose of Raby", daughter of the first Earl of Westmoreland, mother of two kings, and widow of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

Having devoted a day to Richmondshire, south of Durham, three extra days were to be given, outside the county, to the north, in visiting Hexham and the great Roman Wall of Hadrian; and as this expedition was conducted by Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce, F.S.A., and Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., I will leave it to them to describe the ruins with which their names have been so long identified.

In the meantime something shall be said of a few Roman antiquities brought to our notice during the Congress, and particularly at South Shields, in the Roman camp there. Passing up to this north-eastern corner of the county, the small village of Boldon may be seen, famous only from having given its name to the *Boldon Book*, a circumstantial record of the county, compiled by order of Bishop Pudsey, A.D. 1183, such as is *Domesday Book* for the other counties therein described; and this deserves to be included in the celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary, in this present year, of the completion of the two *Domesday* volumes.<sup>1</sup>

As to the Roman camp at the Lawe at South Shields, this Society had the advantage of information concerning it when first dug into, a

<sup>1</sup> Copies of the *Boldon Book* were exposed to view, on the occasion, at the Record Office on the 25th, and at the British Museum on the 26th of October last. The suggestion of printing and editing the whole text of *Domesday*, by the joint labours of a society, is due to our Hon. Secretary, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., whose several papers on the subject will be found in the *Journal* for 1885, beginning with one on territorial names, read as far back as August 1883.

few years since, from Mr. Robert Blair and the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D. The whole circuit of the ramparts was laid open by digging into the mound, the four gates, and the level of the Forum. The record of the presence there of the fourth cohort of the Gallic Lingones is interesting; the first cohort, recruited from the same nation, being already known at High Rochester and Lanchester. Dr. Hooppell considers, and with much probability, that the "Tunnocelum" of the *Notitia* is Tynemouth. A Latin derivation of the name from *Tine Ocellum*, or the Light of the Tyne, seems probable; particularly as the promontory forming the southern boundary of Maxima Cæsariensis, at the mouth of the Humber, was called "Ocellum Promontorium"; both likely places for a pharos, or lighthouse, for ships entering the harbours. Ptolemy writes TVNNA as the name of the Tyne.

Dr. Hooppell had also furnished us, at an evening meeting in London, with excellent diagrams of Roman Vinovia, near Bishop Auckland, which was visited at the Congress, and the ruins uncovered for our inspection. The flues for warming the building are particularly well preserved, and in their places. This station is on the well-marked line of road from the south to the Wall, and through it to Bremenium, passing by Vindomara and Corstopitum.

Southward of Piers Bridge<sup>1</sup> it is interesting to trace the course of the road from York to Mediolanum, in Staffordshire, and thence on to Chester and the western coast of Wales, because the course of history in Anglo-Saxon times seems to show that this country was traversed in connection with Ireland, and the wars against Norwegian invaders, in which our Christian Anglo-Saxons of Deira were deeply interested.

This summary of one of our most important Congresses will, doubtless, be amplified by the publication of many of the valuable papers read at evening meetings, and at the localities which they describe, and will recall the larger assemblage than usual of Vice-Presidents and Members of the Council of this Society, as well as other visitors who attended. The arrangements for carriages and hotels reflect credit on the good management of Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, and his son, Mr. Cyril Wright, assisted by Mr. John Reynolds and by the Local Congress Secretary, Mr. J. P. Pritchett, who contributed not a little to the successful result attained, by his know-

<sup>1</sup> The many Roman remains found here were described by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, F.S.A., some years ago, in the *Journal*. We may hope for a further record from his pen, of those since discovered in these parts. Our Associate, Mr. Richard Howlett, has with infinite labour edited the first four books of William of Newburgh's *Chronicles* for the *Rolls Series*. The Priory of Newburgh was on the high road between Durham and York, and the Augustinian canon's work is highly valuable from his knowledge of men and things in the twelfth century.

ledge of the country and its history, and aided by the zealous co-operation of the many experienced antiquaries to whom reference has been made.

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Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "The Anglo-Saxon Church at Escombe, near Bishop Auckland", by Mr. C. Lynam, who sent a series of carefully prepared drawings to illustrate the paper. It is hoped that this will be printed in a forthcoming Part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Edward Walford, M.A., read a paper on the early literary history of Darlington, and gave some curious extracts from a local periodical relating to the manners and customs of that part of the country. It is hoped that it will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1886.

REV. W. SPARROW-SIMPSON, D.D., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associate was duly elected: Rev. William Bramley-Moore, M.A., Langley Lodge, Gerard's Cross, Bucks.

Dr. Carpenter of Croydon was elected Local Member of Council for Surrey.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library:

*To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, for "Transactions", vol. x, and "Notes on the Wills in the Great Orphan Book, or Book of Wills, in the Council House at Bristol", by the Rev. T. P. Wadley, M.A.

*To the Society*, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xix, Part III.

„ „ for "Journal of Proceedings of Royal Institute of British Architects", vol. iii, New Series, No. 3.

It was announced that the reparation of the Old Tolhouse at Great Yarmouth was now completed. The old roof of the Hall of Assemblies has been thrown open to view, and many objects of antiquarian interest have been brought to light; the most important being an old arch heavily grated, which formed the principal aperture for admission of light and air to the Hold, or common prison, in the basement. This has been opened out. The prison is now one of the most perfect examples of a mediæval dungeon, the prisoners having been chained to a long beam which formerly went along the floor. A pretty arcade, of early fourteenth century date, has been found on the external wall

of the open porch, below the windows whence Proclamation was made. The works have been executed from the designs of Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and Messrs. Bottle and Olley of Great Yarmouth. About £450 still remain to be paid, and subscriptions towards this amount will gladly be received by Mr. F. Danby Palmer, F.S.A., Great Yarmouth. The building has been devoted to the useful purpose of a Reading Room and Library.

The demolition of the Roman tombs which stood along the side of the Old Watling Street at Bremenium (High Rochester), having been reported to the Association, a letter of remonstrance was written to the proprietor. The reply was reported, in which it was stated that the square masonry tombs, which were much dilapidated, had been destroyed; but that the principal one, of circular form, which has a small piece of sculpture on one of its sides, would be preserved.

It was also announced that a committee had been formed to preserve Old Croydon Palace, and that funds subscribed among its members and friends enabled it to take a lease, for a few months, of the buildings, with the option of purchase for a moderate sum. Their safety was, therefore, assured during the period named, and their sale, for demolition, averted for the time. It was to be hoped that some public use might be found for them, so as to ensure their permanent preservation. The committee had been originated at the visit paid to the Old Palace, by some of the country members of this Association several months since; and it was mainly composed of residents of Croydon, with some representative members of the Association.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a large counterpane for a bed. It is of thick linen covered with elaborate patterns stitched over the whole of its surface. The patterns are geometrical, circles, squares, and the like, and in combination. It is remarkable not only on account of its elaborate workmanship and excellent preservation, but also for its history. It is said by tradition to have been worked in a house on Old London Bridge by the lady who became the wife of Sir Edward Osborne, the ancestor of the Earls of Leeds, and Lord Mayor of London in 1582. When he was an apprentice of her father he had rescued the lady, when a child, from drowning in the Thames, by leaping in after her. They were married in due course, and the counterpane was believed to be a portion of the wedding *trousseau*. It had been in the possession of the Osborne family for many generations, and was bequeathed to the exhibitor's former wife by an old man of that name, the last member of one branch of that family.

He also read the following communication of Dr. J. P. Pritchett of Darlington, on the discovery of Roman remains near Bedale:—

“Remains of Roman buildings have been discovered on the property of Sir Frederick Milbank, near the ancient village of Well, which is

about four miles from Bedale, and two from West Taufield Station, Yorkshire. The excavations, as far as they have gone, show a room some 12 or 15 feet square, with a perfect though plain tessellated pavement, plastered walls about 1 foot high all round, and a large rounded fillet of the red cement of the Romans (which is as hard and perfect as the day it was formed, some 1,500 years ago), which fills the angle between the floor and wall all round, as if to make it water-tight. This, an outlet-pipe and drain, and the absence of any indications of a doorway at the floor-level, seem to show that it must have been a bath. It remains yet to be seen whether there is any hypocaust underneath for warming it. So far, I could not discern the appearance of any flue; but some of the round, flat tiles used for the pillars of hypocausts are lying about, which give hope that such an interesting feature may be found. The remains of other rooms are in process of discovery in connection with this supposed bath, which give rise to the idea that a considerable villa, possibly the country quarters of some Roman official, existed here, as it is only three miles and a half from the great Roman road, Leeming Lane.

“There is one interesting fact connected with the bath, viz., that it is near the famous spring that, no doubt, gave the name of ‘Well’ to the village; and the existence of such a spring may have caused the selection of the site for a house and bath long before the village existed; though I do not think the size of the bath, so far discovered, would warrant the supposition that it was a bathing establishment; nor am I aware that the water is supposed to have any medicinal effect.

“The village of Well is very ancient, having a fine church, containing monuments of the Lord Latimer branch of the great Nevill family, and in it is placed an ornamental Roman tessellated pavement, found some years ago not far from the recent discoveries named above. Sir Frederick Milbank, with his well-known liberality and public spirit, proposes to effectually enclose and protect all the objects of interest found, so that the visitors of the future may see them.”

Mr. Brock also read the following note on a sunken vessel recently found in the Cattewater, Plymouth, by Dr. Alfred C. Fryer:—

“An interesting discovery has been made by Messrs. Burnard, Lack, and Alger, while dredging near to their jetty in the Cattewater Harbour. The dredging machine came upon some obstruction, and the next day a diver found that there was a mass of wood projecting slightly above the surface of about 14 feet of mud. The mud was cleared away, and an embedded barque was discovered, about 90 feet long, with a beam of about 25 feet. The ship has neither masts nor deck, and is evidently of considerable age. People whose recollection of this Harbour goes back for a number of years have no remembrance



of a ship having foundered at the spot where this barque has been discovered. Some persons think that the unfortunate vessel may have been wrecked during a great storm which took place near the end of the last century, while others believe that it belongs to the time of the Commonwealth. However, there seems little possibility that the name or age of the vessel will be discoverable.

"The timbers are English oak, and the keelson is of elm. All the wood is roughly fashioned, and the plane does not seem to have been used in her construction. The side of the ship is about 18 inches thick, and is made up of several thicknesses of planks, which are fastened together with wooden treenails. No iron appears to have been used. A quantity of flint ballast, a block of antiquated shape, with a wooden pin, a wooden shovel, and a substantial wooden box, have been found in the hold."

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited impressions of the matrix of the seal of John de Cleris, Papal Inquisitor (fifteenth century), found on the site of Wyckham Priory, Yorkshire. It is in the possession of Lady Downe.

The Chairman exhibited some Roman tesserae from a fragment of a pavement lately discovered in Friday Street, Cheapside, during the removal of the parish church of St. Matthew, Friday Street. The pavement, which was in a very dislocated condition, and sloping from north to south, lay at a depth of about 14 feet below the present level of the street. The fragment was about 3 feet square, and lay at about 13 feet from the east wall of the church, and at a similar distance from the south wall. The tesserae are of red earth, portions of tiles, very rough, about 1 inch or 1½ inch square. Similar tesserae were discovered when the adjacent warehouse of Messrs. Boyds was built in 1844. According to a note made at the time, this pavement lay at a depth of from 16 to 18 feet. It is possible that it may have been part of the same pavement.

The Chairman also read a paper on "St. Vedast", which we trust will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*. Mr. Birch and Mr. E. Walford, M.A., took part in the discussion which followed.

Mr. Brock read a paper by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. Scot., on "Traders' Signs on Old London Bridge", which will find a place ere long, it is hoped, in the *Journal*.

## Obituary.

MRS. WILLIAM NEWTON.

WITH great regret we have to record the death of Mrs. Newton, our accomplished and much admired Member for the past six years, she having joined the Association in 1880, after being present at the Congress held that year at Devizes, under the never-to-be-forgotten presidency of the Earl Nelson, who did so much by his unflagging zeal and energy, with constant attendance during the week's proceedings, to make it one of the most pleasant and successful of these annual meetings.

Mrs. Newton will be long remembered by those who knew her well for her genial and engaging manners, and her great regard for the pursuit of archæological studies, especially in all relating to historical research and inquiry; and with her retentive memory as well as gifted pencil (her sketches made on the spot being works of art in their way), she certainly held a high and influential position in all antiquarian proceedings both at home and abroad; and added brightness to all such doings by her natural gaiety of disposition, and clever appreciation of all she heard, from time to time, on such occasions. In her own home, of Hill-Side, Newark, Nottinghamshire, she was much loved and respected by all ranks and classes of society; and the poor especially, to whom she bestowed much of her time in kindly and active sympathy, as well as acts of ever ready benevolence and untiring devotion, will feel for many years to come how true and unselfish a friend they have lost in her.

In an article on this lamented lady's death, in *The Newark Advertiser* of May 12th of this year, it is thus said of her: "To refer to all the public movements of a benevolent or educational nature in which Mrs. Newton participated, would be to sketch the progress of many local events in Newark for the last quarter of a century. It will suffice to say that she gave a hearty recognition and a cheerful aid to all efforts for spreading useful knowledge amongst the people, and was ever ready to help forward any worthy movement of a charitable or philanthropic nature. She supported the University classes, the Cookery classes, the Art-School, and the Ambulance lectures; she took a friendly interest in the inmates of the almshouses, and in the recipients of Church and other charities; and her last appearance in a public position was at the Amateur Theatricals in the Corn Exchange, in

behalf of the Newark Hospital and Dispensary. On that occasion the deceased lady took a leading part, and contributed largely to the success of the performances, by her untiring efforts and her skilful impersonations. The time occupied in the active duties of her social position was more largely devoted, than the public may be aware of, to literary labours... When the opportunity permitted, she committed the thoughts which crowded through her cultivated mind to paper; and on gardening, in which she took an especial delight, or on history, in which she was well versed, she was a pleasant and a graceful writer."

Mrs. Newton died at Soissons, France, on May 6th, after a few days' illness, in which she was most tenderly and affectionately nursed by her friends, Mrs. John Reynolds and Mrs. Dix, of Redland and Clifton, who, with herself, were members of the Leland Club, an archæological Society devoting itself to researches on the Continent as well as in England, twice every year, and of which she was an earnest and esteemed supporter.

The following "In Memoriam" lines were sent to her husband, Lieutenant-Colonel Newton, from Rheims on the day following the news of the poor lady's death, by their attached friend, Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., the Founder and Chairman of the Leland Club; and though they have already appeared in print, it is thought not inappropriate to add them to this obituary notice:

"And thou hast left us on this foreign shore,  
Where we had hoped to hear thy voice again,  
To cheer us with its kindly words once more,  
Of wit and wisdom flowing from thy brain!  
To make us all the toils of life forget,  
Its toils and troubles,—on one 'Leland' tour,  
And grace it with thy smiles, which even yet  
Light up our hearts, as they did oft before!

"And thou hast left us,—and thy lonely one!  
Whose life in yours had been truly bound  
For years of wedded love. Alas, 'tis done!  
And all his joy with sorrow now is crown'd.  
Still we will hope thy spirit will watch o'er  
And glad his weary future, till that day  
When he shall meet you on that 'promis'd shore',  
And live with thee in heavenly love away!"

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MR. J. BRAMLEY-MOORE.

We gather from *The Times* of 23rd Nov. 1886, that our late Associate and life-member, Mr. Bramley-Moore, who died at Brighton on the previous Friday, in his eighty-sixth year, was in early life commer-

cially connected with Brazil, and for several years lived at Rio Janeiro. In 1828 many of the officers who formed part of the *Beagle* and *Adventurer* expeditions under the late Admiral Fitzroy (of which Darwin was the naturalist), were hospitably received by him at Rio on their return from the Straits of Magellan, when they were suffering from scurvy.

Soon after his return to England, in 1835, he settled in Liverpool. In 1841 he was elected an Alderman, and filled that office for twenty-four years. In 1846, having been elected Chairman of the Liverpool Docks, he brought forward his scheme of Dock-extension, in which he foretold what would be the future requirements of the Docks. The following is an account of his first interview with Lord Derby (the grandfather of the present Earl) at Knowsley on the subject: "I have come, my Lord, to ask you to give me the north shore, together with its lordships and rights; and it will be greatly to the gain of the Derby family for you to do so." His Lordship, somewhat surprised, replied: "I think you will have some difficulty in convincing me of that. I have been offered by others £90,000 for the grounds in these quarters." "If you will give me", continued the Chairman, "the fore-shore for such a distance, I will make for you all the back-land behind with the spoil of the Docks; and this land will be your compensation, and will become of immense value soon, if not in your lifetime, being enhanced in value by the Docks which I purpose to construct."

The result of the interview was that the Earl gave the Chairman what he asked for, so that this long line of river-frontage, to the extent of about two miles, did not cost the estate a penny. The project excited, in the first instance, the greatest opposition; but the Act of Parliament for the enlargement of the Docks was, after a great deal of severe Parliamentary labour, obtained in 1846. The result has fully justified the wisdom and foresight of the arrangement. A notable event in the history of the Liverpool Docks was the opening of the Albert Dock in 1846, when Prince Albert went down for the ceremony, and was entertained by the Dock Committee and by the Mayor. Mr. Bramley-Moore, the Chairman, and Mr. David Hodgson, the Mayor, were offered the honour of knighthood; which, however, was respectfully declined in both instances. Mr. Bramley-Moore was present, in September 1881, at the opening of new Docks in Liverpool by the Prince of Wales. These were but the continuation and crown of the scheme which he initiated in 1846, and which Mr. Jesse Hartley carried out.

In 1849 Mr. Bramley-Moore was Mayor of Liverpool, and entertained the same year this Association, when paying a visit to Liverpool from Chester, where the sixth annual Congress was being held under the presidency of Lord Albert Denison, F.S.A. (formerly Lord Albert

Conyngham), to whom he presented a mazer-bowl, silver-mounted by the late Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., then a well known jeweller of the city. During his term of office, Mr. Bramley-Moore did much to enlarge the ordinary routine of municipal hospitality. In politics he was a Conservative; and in 1854 he was returned to Parliament as Member for Maldon, which he represented to the year 1859. He also represented the city of Lincoln from 1862 to 1865. He contested, unsuccessfully, Hull, Liverpool, and Lymington. In 1863 he made a speech on the subject of the relations of England with Brazil, as a serious misunderstanding had arisen between the two countries. This speech was most warmly received in Brazil, and Mr. Bramley-Moore received addresses from twenty-five of the largest and most important provinces; and the dignity of the Imperial Order of the Rose from the reigning Emperor, the highest which the laws admit of being conferred upon a foreigner. When His Majesty was over in England, in 1877, he went down to Gerrard's Cross to lunch with Mr. Bramley-Moore. It has to be added that the latter was a Magistrate for Lancashire and Buckingham, and a Deputy-Lieutenant for Lancashire.

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MR. T. PROCTOR BURROUGHS, F.S.A.

For many years past our Associate, Mr. T. Proctor Burroughs, who died on the 5th of November last, has been associated with public life in the old borough of Yarmouth, being in the Town Council as a representative of the North Ward, and until recently a member of the Board of Guardians. In both these capacities he had much independence of thought and character, and did not hesitate to express it. He was the son of William Norton Burroughs, once Mayor of Yarmouth; a native of the town, having been born in the residence, Market Place, where he expired; and with family, social, and professional ties binding him to the locality, it was not to be wondered at that he ever gave evidence of a deep interest in its affairs. In that respect he seldom or never failed. He had an open hand, freely giving wherever his kindly heart approved. Being an ardent antiquary and archæologist, he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and took a leading part in the successful movements for the restoration of the ancient Tolhouse, and the preservation of the remains of the old flint wall and towers that once girdled the town. He was the author of several pamphlets on matters of archæological interest, amongst which we may note particularly *John Cleveland's Petition to the Lord Protector*, a narrative of one of the most notable persons who, much against their will, had uneasy lodgings within the dismal "Hold", under what is now the Free Library. Mr. Burroughs had a rare taste for collecting valuable pictures, books, and local curiosities, and he



possessed several quaint relics illustrating the history of Yarmouth of by-gone days.

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MR. STEPHEN ISAACSON TUCKER, SOMERSET HERALD IN ORDINARY.

At the moment of going to press we hear with great regret of the death of our esteemed member and Vice-President, Mr. Tucker, which took place on the 6th of January 1887.

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Deerhurst Chapel.*—We gather from *The Builder* that the reparation of the Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst is now completed. All the walls have been examined and made good, and everything has been removed which interfered with the building. A great quantity of soil has been taken away from the west side of the Chapel, so that an ascent is made to it from the road which runs near the edifice on the west side. This will probably have the effect of preventing water from lying about the foundations in the wet time of the year. All the modern windows and doorways have been filled up, the entrance to the Chapel being now effected through a restored Saxon archway. The nave has now two windows, high up on the north and south walls: one of these remains as it was first found; the other has been restored, and made like its original companion. The roof or ceiling is flat, and shows the old and now blackened oak-rafters,—perhaps the original timber of the roof. Above them the roof is modern. The chancel-arch stands well. The half which (our readers will remember) had been cut away has now been restored. Both the jambs were perfect, being composed of massive stone, as shown in the sketches we gave at the time of the discovery. The chancel-walls had been taken down to the height of about 9 feet from the pavement, to enable the sixteenth century room to be built overhead. Acting on the advice of Professor Middleton, the Committee for the restoration caused a large “well-hole” to be cut in the flooring, so as to enable the chancel-arch and other details to be seen; but the beams and much of the flooring have been left. A fixed ladder gives access to this flooring from below. The appearance of the building from the outside is that of an ancient chapel added on to a picturesque, timbered house of the sixteenth century; and they are quite a pleasing group. The inscribed stone which was found used for a window-head, during the exploration of the edifice, will be removed, and let into the inside of one of the walls, for the sake of security. A copy of the “Odda” stone, at Oxford, will also be set up in some convenient place.

*Hunsbury, or Danes' Camp, and the Discoveries there.* By SIR HENRY E. L. DRYDEN, Bart., Hon. Memb. Soc. Ant. Scot.<sup>1</sup>—Sir Henry Dryden, with the rigid adherence to plain, simple facts which makes all his reports the more valuable, contributes an important paper on discoveries in a locality hitherto but little noticed, which rank among the most interesting of late years.

The site is a mile and three-quarters south-west from the crossing of the main roads at All Saints' Church, in Northampton, in Hardingstone parish, on high ground, on the south side of the valley of the Nen. "The Camp", Sir Henry remarks, "is now usually known as 'Danes' Camp'; but evidently it is the 'bury' in the name 'Hunsbury'; and doubtless 'Huns' is from some tradition of people of that nationality having made or occupied it. The Danes have got credit for an immense number of military works. Over the whole area of the Camp were found, at a few feet or yards apart, pits sunk to the bottom, or nearly to the bottom, of the 6 feet or 7 feet of soil. These pits varied from 5 to 10 feet in diameter, rudely circular in form, and nearly perpendicular as to their sides. They were distinguishable by being full of black mould. In them most of the remains hereafter described were found. In scarcely any instance did they penetrate the ironstone. In all, there must have been over three hundred of these pits. About six or seven of these pits were walled with small flat stones, chiefly limestone. The enclosed diameter of them was about 5 feet. These pits were evidently for the reception of refuse of various kinds." The area of the Camp is about 4 acres. The scarp, fosse, and counter-scarp, are about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  acre.

The Camp, as it is called, must have been a British *oppidum*, made and used probably very far anterior to the concealment of the weapons and implements in iron, which are of the character called late Celtic. In material and form they bear a general resemblance to those from Hod Hill, near Blandford.<sup>2</sup> There is an example of the sword-shaped implement, or imperfect sword, of which many were found at Hod Hill, at Spetisbury, and other places in the west of England. Mr. Wylie has directed attention to a quantity found in a peat moor near Zurich, with pigs of iron.<sup>3</sup>

On the bronze scabbards of iron swords, reference, for comparison, may be made to a similar example from the Thames, figured in the third volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Pl. xvi, and to the remarks on it and similar scabbards. They must be assigned to the late Celtic period; to which, indeed, belong the whole, or nearly the whole, of the objects from Hunsbury. If Jewitt, in his *Grave-Mounds*, has classed the shape of one of such swords as Anglo-Saxon, he has certainly

<sup>1</sup> From the *Proceedings of the Northampton Architectural Society*.

<sup>2</sup> *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Lond.* for April 8, 1880.

made a mistake. The umbo of a shield figured by Sir Henry Dryden does not much resemble any of the numerous Anglo-Saxon types with which we are acquainted.

When it is said that the engravings are from drawings by Sir Henry Dryden, it is saying, in other words, that they are scrupulously faithful.

C. R. S.

*An Account of British and Roman Remains found in the Neighbourhood of Hitchin.*<sup>1</sup> By WILLIAM RANSOM, F.L.S.—From the district around Hitchin, Mr. Ransom's researches have collected numerous remains of the Roman and Saxon epochs, which he has made the groundwork for an interesting paper, remarkably lucid, and illustrated by several well-drawn and engraved plates. That of a Roman villa near Hitchin, excavated in 1884 by Mr. Ransom, is admirably planned. The villa must have been one of wide extent, and of superior character. The apartments warmed by hypocausts were, no doubt, paved with tessellated work, now gone. Adjoining the larger is a bath-room, as usual in the villas of Britain, of small dimensions. The walls had been painted with elegant designs in colours. The coins found in the villa are of Gallienus, Victorinus, the Tetrici, Carausius, Allectus, Constantine, and Valentinian, with three of those rudely engraved small pieces formerly supposed post-Roman, but now correctly assigned to the period of the Tetrici.

The so-called Samian pottery found near Astwick include some novel potters' stamps which will be recognised in the following list:—DOUCCVS, CAVPIERRA, CA...NI, SACRILI M, MATERNINI M, MACRINI OF, AVGELLA F, DOUCCVS M; and among a large quantity of pottery found near Wymondley occur DOCCIVS F, ROMVLI OF, ANELLI OF. Although it is proved beyond question that this lustrous red ware was imported into Britain, we occasionally meet with the names of potters which have not been recorded as found among the numerous examples discovered in France and Germany. For these the best general catalogue is M. H. Schuerman's *Sigles Figulins* (Bruxelles, 1867), which in a new edition could be much amplified.

On Pegsdown Common, at the foot of the Chalk Downs, about four miles from Hitchin, Mr. Ransom discovered in contiguity Roman and Saxon remains. Of these, a plate of weapons is given. Mr. Ransom remarks: "In a field near, known as Danesfield, there were found, about forty-five years ago, a large number of human skeletons, and also those of horses, with several fragments of iron and bronze. Within a short distance an almost perfect Roman amphora, 3 feet high, has been dug out, and a variety of other vessels have since been found there. It may be interesting to note, by the way, that the pretty purple *Anemone*

<sup>1</sup> From the *Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society*, vol. iv, Part 2, July 1886.



TERRA EPI BAIOCENSIS.

In leet de Sutorne In debestant hromes.

O epio Baiocensi rei hugo de porch haselet.

p dimidū solū de deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ſunt ii.

car. 7 xiii. uilli cū m. bord hnt. m. car. lvi. m. ſeru. xii.

ac p. 7 unū mod. de x. ſol. 7 una dona filuz de v. por.

7 ſc. ſc. uat. m. xv. lē. de. de. in ora.

In hoc ſc. unū ſol. 3x. ac ſp. ualentes p annū. v. ſol. Vltre

uacat. nē p. an. ad illud n. neq. p. uat. hnt dīm p. rege.

In dno rei Sutorne camp de epio p. x. ſolū de deſt.

ſpa ē. xxi. car. In dno ſunt ii. 7 xxi. uilli cū m. bord

hnt. xxi. car. lvi. m. ſeru. 7 x. ſeru. 7 x. lē. ac p. Silua

ii. por. 7 v. piſcari. de. xxi. den. 7 ſc. que ſeru. ad hallā.

7 una hūda de v. ſol. 7 m. den. de ſilua hui. n. tene

acard. m. ſilua leuina qd. uat. m. ſol. 7

lōū ſc. uat. x. lē. 7 m. uat. xxi. lē.

Raduſſi filii Radulfi rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ſunt ii. car. 7 x. uilli cū vi.

car. ſeru. v. car. lvi. m. ſeru. 7 ſilua. x. por.

7 ſc. ſc. uat. m. lē. 7 m. c. ſol. 7 uat. m. uat. 7 m. uat.

Raduſſi rei de epio haselet. p. dimidū ſolū.

ſpa ē. i. car. 7 bi. cū m. bord 7 ii. ſeru. 7 bi. m. lē.

7 ſc. ſc. uat. m. lē. 7 m. c. ſol. 7 uat. m. uat. 7 m. uat.

leſtan tenuit de rege. 7 p. post morte a uerit. 7 ad

Alno. 7 m. q. in cūlūp. 7

Amſco de Rouaſtre rei de epio adaleſtre camp. p. di

midū ſolū. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio Realeſt. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ſunt ii. car. 7 vi. uilli cū v. bord

hnt. ii. car. lvi. m. ſeru. 7 dmi. ac p. 7 una dona filuz

quā ten. acard. de tenebre. Value. m. lē. 7 m. m. lē

7 x. lē. Sumard tenuit de rege. l.

Hugo de por. rei de epio haselet. p. trib. ſolū de deſt.

ſpa ē. In dno ē. una car. 7 xxi. uilli cū vii. bord

hnt. vii. car. lvi. qd. m. lē. hnt. vii. m. ſeru. 7 m. lē.

7 x. lē. ac una car. p. reat. hoc hnt hugo. ii. bōd. anoneſ

dimidū ſolū. qd. p. uat. T. R. l. ire. quolibet hnt. leuina.

Vna ſpa uacat. didele. 7 alia Sornig. ſpa ē. lvi. m. ſeru. 7

appa. x. lē. lē. ac p. appa. vii. lē. 7 m. ſilua.

Ad acard. rei de tenebre. x. lē. lē. appa. Re. hnt

inde. ii. denat. que appa. vii. lē. 7 m. ſilua. 7 m. ſilua.

de rege. l.

De epio rei Walſon. haselet. p. dimidū ſolū

de deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. una car. 7 m. uilli

cū vi. bord hnt. i. car. lvi. m. ſeru. 7 x. ſeru.

7 x. lē. ac p. Silua. ii. por. 7 v. piſcari. de. xxi. den.

7 ſc. que ſeru. ad hallā. 7 una hūda de v. ſol. 7 m. den.

de ſilua hui. n. tene. acard. m. ſilua leuina qd. uat. m. ſol.

7 lōū ſc. uat. x. lē. 7 m. uat. xxi. lē.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.

bord 7 m. ſeru. lē. una ac p. 7 ſilua. vii. por. 7 xxi.

denar. pluſ. Value. m. lē. 7 m. c. x. ſol.

leſtan tenuit de rege. l.

Ad ſiluz hūda rei de epio haselet. p. uno ſolū de

deſt. ſpa ē. In dno ē. i. car. cū uno uillō 7 m.



*pulsatilla*, known as 'Danes' Blood', grows abundantly on the hill-slopes around, covering the scanty herbage with its purple blossoms in the early spring."

The application of the word *Dane* to places in which Roman and Saxon remains have been found is explained in the lasting impression made by the long devastation of the country by the invasions of the barbarians of the North. Popular ignorance and credulity have, as Mr. Ransom notes, given the name of "Danes' Blood" to an anemone. Awbrey, in his *Wills*, applies the same name to the *Sambucus ebulus*, which grows plentifully about Slaughterford, where Awbrey says "there was heretofore a great fight with the Danes, which made the inhabitants give it that name."<sup>1</sup>

An observant naturalist, Mr. Ransom gives further information. Speaking of the animal bones found in the *débris* of the villa, he remarks: "Amongst the bones were also found, at the depth of 3 or more feet, a number of the pretty little spiral shells of the *Achatina acicula*, which are frequently turned out where animals have been buried. This mollusc has a peculiar perception as to where its food lies, for its shells are occasionally found at a depth of 7 or 8 feet in human graves."

C. R. S.

*The Domesday Commemoration by the Royal Historical Society* commenced on Monday, 25th October, and occupied six days. Among the proceedings and papers were the following:—Visit to the exhibition of *Domesday Book* and other MSS. at the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane. Paper on the *Domesday Book* by Mr. H. Hall. Popular lecture by Canon I. Taylor, M.A., LL.D. Visit to the exhibition of *Domesday* MSS. at the British Museum. Papers on *Domesday* wapentakes and land-measures by Canon I. Taylor and Mr. J. H. Round, M.A. Danegeld and finance of *Domesday*, by Mr. J. H. Round, M.A. Materials for re-editing *Domesday Book*, by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A. Local and topographical subjects, by Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B.; Messrs. H. E. Malden, M.A., F.R. Hist. S.; F. E. Sawyer, F.S.A.; Herbert J. Reid, F.S.A.; and J. Parker, M.A. Mr. P. E. Dove, Hon. Secretary, of 23½ Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, will be happy to supply subscribers of one guinea with the volume containing the proceedings and papers. We are indebted to the proprietors of *The Athenæum* for the use of the block-facsimile of a page of the *Domesday Book* very slightly reduced, which will enable our readers to form some idea of the handwriting and appearance of the text.

*The ancient Ship found at Brigg*.—Our Associate, Mr. B. Winstone, sends the following communication respecting this relic:—

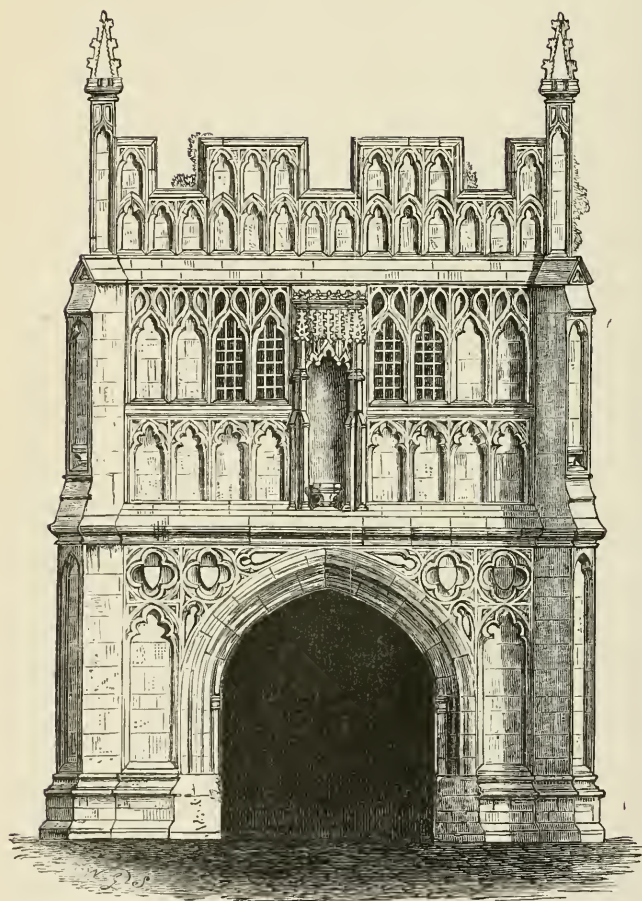
<sup>1</sup> See Prior's *Popular Names of British Plants*. London, 1863.

"In your description of the boat found at Brigg it is mentioned that, from the remains, the mode of navigation was not very evident. I therefore venture to call attention to a mode of propelling boats still in use in Switzerland; handed down, no doubt, from very remote times, as in all probability the Brigg boat was propelled in a similar manner. Last summer I hired a boat on the Lake of Bienne to take me to the Isle of St. Peter. The boat had no rowlocks; but in the sides of the boat were holes through which withies were passed, and twisted into little hoops or loops. Through these the oars were passed, and they acted as rowlocks. The boatman stood up, facing the bows, and propelled the boat by pushing the oars from him. The oars had large blades; and the length, from the loop or rowlock to the man's hand, was very considerable when compared with the remaining portion. As the large blade of the oar gave good hold of the water, and the leverage was great, the boatman had great propelling power, so that he made very good way through the water.

"The Brigg boat has two holes near the bows, three holes amidships, and two holes at the stern. Withies were probably passed through these holes, and used in the manner I have described. The men stood up. Two oars were worked in the bows, three or four amidships, and two in the stern. As the men facing the bows propelled the boat whilst standing, by pushing the oars, no seats would be wanted,—there was no appearance of any provision having been made for seats in the Brigg boat. The ridge of timber crossing at the bottom, athwart ships, may have been left to afford foothold to the boatmen whilst pushing the oars. A boat so propelled would readily navigate shallow rivers full of shoals, and especially narrow rivers, as the boatmen at the bows and stern would have great power by what is termed 'backing water' with the stern-oars, and pulling (or rather pushing) with the bow-oars over the course of the boat; and they could turn it within its own length if it were necessary to do so."

*Some Antiquities of Moche Malverne (Great Malvern).* By JAMES NOTT. Malvern, 1885.—During our recent Congress at Malvern we had an opportunity of seeing many of the mediæval relics which Mr. Nott has described in this interesting little volume. In a series of chapters devoted to the building and fortunes of the Priory, several new facts are for the first time here brought to light from ancient MSS. and printed works, for the author has not failed to avail himself of the records in the British Museum, which contain so much unpublished material illustrating historical and monastic antiquities. It is the supine contentedness with well-known details, and complete disregard of the new lights which the manuscript literature stored up in the Museum and Record Office are ready to yield to search, which





GREAT MALVERN PRIORY, PORCH AND PARVISE.

make so many antiquarian books mere superficial compilations, when with a little time spent in original research they could acquire so much more valuable a character.

The stained glass of the Priory church is one of its grandest features, and Mr. Nott gives an excellent description of it and of the carving and other details. One of the most remarkable of these is the *parvise*, or room over the porch (see illustration opposite), which was built during the reconstruction of the church in the reign of King Henry VII, and is entered by a staircase from the inside of the church. The word *parvice*, or *parvise*, appears to signify a court of law; but it is not certain how far such an explanation would suit that at Malvern. It is most likely to have been a muniment room. From the time of the Dissolution until 1849, the room was used as a servants' hall for the old abbey house, much in the same way as the lady chapel of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, London, fell into secular uses, from which it was only rescued the other day. In 1849, the parvise, which is a fine example of the later Gothic style prevalent at the close of the fifteenth century, was restored to the possession of the church for a vestry and parish meeting room. Three of the bells of "Moche Malverne" were sold to the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark; the other six, and the "Sanctus" bell still remain; and those who have wandered along the Malvern hills have frequently been charmed with the melody which they discourse as sweetly now as they did when first hung up in the tower, nearly five hundred years ago.

Mr. Nott devotes some part of his work to an account of the "Vision of Piers Ploughman", the authorship of which he attributes to Prior John de Malverne, who occurs in that dignity in 1349. Among the new documents and antiquities which the author has collected, and which makes this work indispensable to the complete knowledge of the history of the Priory, are: The first seal, of the twelfth century, having on the obverse the Virgin and Child, on the reverse St. Michael the archangel and patron saint, half-length, "casting down his golden crown before the glassy sea", as related in Revel. iv, 6-10; this is an interesting departure in sacred and legendary art, which more conventionally depicts St. Michael in combat with the dragon:—the second seal, with the Virgin and Child differently treated, and with reverse or counterseal as before:—the seal of Prior Thomas in the thirteenth century, who is here depicted under an arch, humbly set in the base of the design, adoring his special patrons, the Virgin and Child, St. Michael, and another, perhaps his eponymic saint, Thomas, on whose feast-day—the shortest day of the year, because of his wavering faith—the Prior was perhaps born or received into monachism.

A fine photograph of a charter of Richard fitz Ponz or Puncius, granting the church of Lecha or Leigh to the monks of St. Mary and St. Michael



is added, as well as the texts of several charters in the Harley Collection; the "Cartæ Antiquæ" at the Record Office formerly in the Tower of London; the Westminster Chartulary in the Cottonian MS., Faustina, A. III; Bishop Carpenter's Register at Worcester; a letter from Bishop Latimer pleading for the continuance of the Priory; copious extracts from the little-known but highly valuable Scudamore Papers in the British Museum, relating to the accounts of the dissolved priory; the Ministers' Accounts for Worcestershire in the Record Office; the Parish Registers; the Royal "Church Briefs"; Cole's account of the church; Charters from the MSS. at Lambeth Palace; a list of Priors, and lastly a list of incumbents, both fuller than those hitherto known to Worcestershire historians.

*Photographs of the Antiquities of London and its Vicinity.*—It is in contemplation to form a Society having for its object the preparation of photographs of objects of antiquarian interest in the metropolis and its vicinity. The progress of improvement and change is so rapid, that many a once familiar structure has disappeared; and it is no unusual thing for a visit to be paid to some portion of London, where some well-known old mansion or other building may be seen in its old position, only for the same locality to be found to be completely altered on the occasion of the next visit, and the old building entirely removed, leaving, it may be, no record of its existence. Thus, in very recent years, have passed away Northumberland House, Kensington House, Shaftesbury House, and a fine block of old timber houses opposite the last-named building, the House of the Tradescants at Stockwell, the fine gates of Shacklewell Manor House, and many others. Although Charterhouse is now safe, yet its existence at one time appeared very doubtful; but at the present time the fine old block of buildings, Staple Inn, appears doomed to destruction.

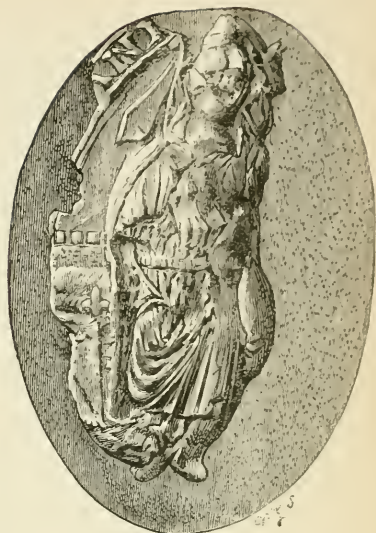
The objects of the Society will be to issue artistic photographs, taken from the most interesting positions, of the ancient buildings existing within the metropolitan area, particularly those whose existence was threatened, or where changes are in contemplation which are likely to alter their ancient aspect.

These photographs are to be prepared by a permanent process, being in this respect different from many which have been already prepared, it being considered that special regard should be had to render these views lasting records of the objects represented.

The number of photographs issued will have to depend entirely upon the number of subscribers; but it is considered that with a membership of 250, and a subscription of 10s. 6d. per annum, as many as fourteen photographs can be issued to each member, or a less number if fewer subscribers be found. These views will be about



1.



3.



2.



4.



5.

# SEALS OF GREAT MALVERN PRIORY.

- 1, 2. First Seal and Counterseal, 12th century.
- 3, 4. Second Seal, 13th century, and Counterseal as in No. 2.
5. Seal of Prior Thomas, 13th century.



9½ by 7½ ins. in size, unmounted or mounted, as may be arranged. All persons interested in the above undertaking are invited to forward their names and addresses to Frederick J. C. Tytler, Esq., Secretary, 36, Northumberland Place, Bayswater, W. Views of Staple Inn will form the first of the series.

*Herne Church, Kent.*—The tower of Herne Church, near Canterbury, has been discovered to be in a dangerous condition, particularly at the north-east angle, the buttresses of which contain a staircase, by which they are much weakened. In the baptistry large cracks and fissures run from the top of the vaulting to the pavement, and at the south-west-corner the stone caps and mouldings of the arch leading into the nave have been crushed by the unequal weight thus brought on them. The Vicar, the Rev. F. Buchanan, read a paper recently at Canterbury, at which a fund was started to defray the necessary expenses of saving the tower from an imminent disaster.

*Holderness and Hullshire Historic Gleanings.* By T. TINDALL WILDRIDGE.—This work contains the fine and accurate series of wood-blocks of that now rare book, Poulson's *History of Holderness*, as well as many other illustrations specially prepared. There now remain, after the supply of the subscribers, not quite 100 copies. No further edition is possible. It may be procured from Wildridge and Co., 5 Savile Street, Hull. Price 10s. 6d.

Some interesting archæological sites have been illustrated in Fulcher's *Ladies' Memorandum Book and Poetical Miscellany* for 1887. (Longman and Co.; and A. Pratt, Sudbury); among others, the ruins of the very early church at Kilmelchedar, near Dingle; Merton Hall, Norfolk, of Elizabethan date, the seat of Lord Walsingham; and Loch Leven Castle, memorable in connection with the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots.

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